# AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BY

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BARONET.

*Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine tangit*
*Humanos animos*——

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# THE PREFACE.

I *Have often complained, that ſo ancient and noble a Nation as ours, ſo renowned by the Fame of their Arms and Exploits abroad, ſo applauded and envied, for their wiſe and happy Inſtitutions at home, ſo flouriſhing in Arts and Learning, and ſo adorned by excellent Writers in other Kinds, ſhould not yet have produced one good or approved general Hiſtory of* England. *That of* France *has been compoſed with great Induſtry, by* des Serres, *with Judgment and Candor by* Mezeray. *That of* Spain *with great Diligence and eloquent Stile, by* Mariana. *That of the Empire, with much Pains and good Order, as*

*well as Learning, by* Pedro de Mexia; *but ours have been written by ſuch mean and vulgar Authors, ſo tedious in their Relations, or rather Collections, ſo injudicious in the Choice of what was fit to be told or to be let alone, with ſo little Order, and in ſo wretched a Style; that as it is a Shame to be ignorant in the Affairs of our own Country, ſo 'tis hardly worth the Time or Pains to be informed, ſince for that End a Man muſt read over a Library rather than a Book, and after all, muſt be content to forget more than he remembers.*

*'Tis true, ſome Parcels or ſhort Periods of our Hiſtory have been left us by Perſons of great Worth and Learning, much honoured or eſteemed in their Times; as, Part of* Edward *the fourth and* Richard *the third by Sir* Thomas Moor; Henry *the ſeventh by Sir* Francis Bacon; Henry *the eighth by the Lord* Herbert; Edward

ward *the ſixth by Sir* John Haywood; *and Queen* Elizabeth *by Mr.* Camden. *There are beſides theſe, many voluminous Authors of ancient Times, in* Latin, *and of modern in* Engliſh, *with ſome Forreigners, as* Froiſſart *and* Polidore Virgil; *out of all which might be framed a full and juſt Body of our general Hiſtory, if collected with Pains and Care, and digeſted with good Order; for the Architect is only wanting, and not the Materials for ſuch a Building.*

*I will confeſs, I had it in my Thoughts at one Time of my Life, and the moſt proper for ſuch a Work, to make an Abridgment of our* Engliſh *Story, having obſerved that* Mezeray's Abregè *of his own, was more eſteemed, and much more read than his larger Volume; but thoſe Thoughts were ſoon diverted, by other Imployments, wherein I had the Hopes, as well*

*well as the Intentions of doing ſome greater Services to my Country. I have ſince endeavoured to engage ſome of my Friends in the ſame Deſign, whom I thought capable of atchieving it, but have not prevailed; ſome pretending Modeſty, and others too much valuing Eaſe.*

*Therefore to invite and encourage ſome worthy Spirit, and true Lover of our Country to purſue this Attempt, I have conſented to the publiſhing of this Introduction to the Hiſtory of* Englad, *wherein I have traced a ſhort Account of this Iſland, the Names, the Inhabitants, and Conſtitutions thereof, from the firſt Originals, as far as I could find any Ground of probable Story, or of fair Conjecture, ſince Philoſophers tell us, that none can be ſaid to know things well, who does not know them in their Beginnings. I have further deduced it, through the great and me-*

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*morable Changes of Names, People, Cuſtoms, and Laws that paſſed here, until the End of the firſt* Norman *Reign, which made the laſt and great Period of this Kingdom, leaving the Succeſſions and Conſtitutions ſince that Time, ſo fixed and Eſtabliſhed as to have laſted for the Space of above ſix hundred Years, without any conſiderable Alteration from ſo long a Courſe of Time, or ſuch Variety of Events as have ſince arrived in the World.*

*I have hereby beaten through all the rough and dark Ways of this Journey; the reſt lies fair and eaſie through a plain and open Country, and I ſhould think my ſelf happy to ſee it well purſued by ſome abler Hand, for the Honour of our Nation, and the Satisfaction of our own as well as forreign Readers, who ſhall be curious to know*

*our*

*our Story. I wiſh it may be performed with the ſame good Intentions, and with much better Succeſs, than this ſmall Endeavour of mine.*

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# AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

*Britain* was by the Ancients accounted the greateſt Iſland of the known World, and for ought is yet certain, may be ſo ſtill, notwithſtanding the later Diſcoveries of *Madagaſcar* and *Japan*, which are by ſome brought into Competition. It extends from

North to South about ten Degrees, and about two hundred Miles in the Breadth of its moſt extended Angles. It was anciently called *Albion*, which ſeems to have been ſoftned from *Alpion*, the word *Alp* in ſome of the Original Weſtern Languages, ſignifying generally very high Lands or Hills, as this Iſle appears to thoſe who approach it from the Continent. But of thoſe Times there is no Certainty remains in Story, more than that it was ſo called, and very little known to the reſt of the World.

By the *Romans*, and ſome time before *Cæſar*, it was called *Britannia*; concerning which Name very much Debate, and no Agreement has been among the modern Learned of our Country, or of others. After raking into all the Rubbiſh of thoſe Authors; That which

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ſeems to me moſt probable, is, that the Strangers who came over into this Iſland upon the ſcore of Traffick, from the Coaſts of *Gaul* or *Germany*, called the Inhabitants by one common Name of *Briths*, given them from the Cuſtom among them of painting their naked Bodies and ſmall Shields with an Azure Blue, which by them was called *Brith*, and diſtinguiſh'd them from Strangers who came among them: From this Name of the Inhabitants, the *Romans* upon their Invaſions, Conqueſts, and Colonies eſtabliſh'd in *Gaul*, which brought them firſt acquainted with this Iſland, called it *Britannia*, by giving a *Latin* termination to a barbarous Name, and the ſame which appears to have been uſual with them, by the Appellations of many other Countries, that fell under their

Commerce or Conqueſts, as *Mauritania*, *Luſitania*, *Aquitania*, and ſeveral others commonly known. The curious may obſerve this Care of the *Romans*, in giving their own Terminations to many barbarous Countries, and forming eaſie and pleaſant Sounds out of the harſheſt, and moſt offenſive, to ſuch elegant Tongues and Ears as theirs: I ſhall inſtance only in three, among many more, that are obvious to ſuch as pleaſe themſelves with theſe Speculations. The Province of *Britain* in *France* was called among the Natives *Al Mor*, which ſignified *Ad mare*, or near the Sea; from this the *Romans* called it *Armorica*. The Iſle between the Branches of the *Rhine*, which divide for ſome diſtance before they fall into the Sea, was called by the Old *Germans Vat awe*, which ſignifies

nifies fat or fruitful Earth; and from this was framed the *Latin* word *Batavia*. The North-East part of *Scotland* was by the Natives called *Cal Dun*, which ſignifies a Hill of Hazel, with which it was covered; from whence the *Romans* gave it the Name of *Caledonia*: All which have laſted in their Language to this Day.

The *Britains* were little known abroad, before the firſt Entrance of the *Romans* into their Iſle, or the Preparations and Enquiries they made in order to that Expedition: Their Coaſts only oppoſite to *Gaul* and *Belgium*, were frequented by Merchants from thence, who came thereby acquainted with them, but little with the Inland Provinces: And theſe were the Men from whom *Cæſar* drew his beſt Intelligence concerning the Country he intended to Invade.

All that we find related of them by any credible Witneſſes or Authority, before the *Romans* entred, is, That the whole Country was filled with infinite numbers of People, mightily abounding in all ſorts of Cattle or Beaſts, both Wild and Tame; Their Houſes poorly Built, and ſcattered all over the Country, without Obſervance of Order or Diſtance, by which Villages are compoſed: But the *Britains* were placed as every Man liked, and at ſmaller or greater Diſtances, as they were invited by the Fertility of Soil, or the Convenience of Wood or of Water. They lived moſt upon Milk, or Fleſh which they got by Hunting; Little upon Corn, which was not in much Eſteem or Plenty among them. What Cloaths they wore to cover any Parts of their Bodies, were uſually of the Skins

Skins of Beaſts; but much of their Body, as Arms, Legs, and Thighs, was left naked, and in many of them, All; What was naked, was painted with Blue. This was univerſal among them, whether eſteemed an Adornment, or of Terror to their Adverſaries, or to diſtinguiſh them from all their Neighbours that came among them, as Friends or as Enemies.

Their Towns were moſt upon their Coaſts, and founded for the Advantage of Havens, and the Recourſe of Strangers from the Continent, to Buy and Sell, or Exchange Wares with thoſe of the Iſland. Theſe Inhabitants were much more Civilized than thoſe of the Inland Country, by the Commerce and Frequentation of other Nations, eſpecially the *Gauls*, who had long before been Civilized by

the *Roman* Colonies. The Commodities exported out of the Isle, were chiefly Hides and Tin; which last was peculiar to this Country, and in much Use abroad, both in nearer and remoter Regions, where this Island was chiefly known by the Product of this Commodity, convey'd among them at so great Distances, and so much in Request. Some Silver they had, but not in common Use, as having few Mines, and little Knowledge how to improve them, either in the Digging or Refining: Pearls they had too, and frequently found among them, but neither clear, nor coloured like those of the Orient, and therefore in low esteem among the *Romans*: But little Iron, and that used either for Arms, or for Rings, which was a sort of Money current among them: The rest was of Brass, which

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was brought from abroad, and employed only for this Uſe.

Their Language, Cuſtoms, and Religion were generally the ſame with thoſe of the *Gauls*, before the *Roman* Conqueſts in that Province, which were much earlier than in *Britain*: This affinity made them frequently aſſiſt the *Gauls* upon the Coaſts, in their Wars againſt the *Romans*, and gave the firſt Occaſion of *Cæſar*'s invading *Britain* for Revenge and Safety, as well as Conqueſt and Glory.

Their Government was like that of the ancient *Gauls*, of ſeveral ſmall Nations under ſeveral petty Princes; which ſeem the Original Governments of the World, and deduced from the natural Force and Right of Paternal Dominion; Such were the *Hords* among the *Goths*, the *Clans* in *Scotland*, and

*Septs*

*Septs* in *Ireland*. Whether these small *British* Principalities descended by Succession, or were elected by the Advantages of Age, Wisdom, or Valour in the Families of the Prince, is not recorded. But upon great or common Dangers, the chief Commander of all their Forces, was chosen by common Consent in general Assemblies; as *Cæsar* relates of *Cassivelaunus* against his Invasion. The same was done upon their Revolts against the *Roman* Colonies, under *Caractacus* and *Voadicea*; For among them, Women were admitted to their Principalities and general Commands, by the Right of Succession, Nobility of Birth, or Eminence of other Qualities.

Their Forces consisted chiefly in their Foot, and yet they could draw great numbers of Horse into the

the Field upon great Occaſions; they likewiſe uſed Chariots in Fight; which with ſhort Scythes faſten'd to the ends of the Axle-trees, gave cruel Wounds, great Terror, made fierce Charges upon the Ranks of their Enemies, and were of much Force to Break, or to Diſorder them. Their common Arms were ſmall Shields, but very large Swords, which expreſſed more Deſire of Wounding their Enemies, than Defending themſelves. They were eſteemed a very brave and fierce People, till their Bodies came to be ſoftned, and their Courages debaſed by the Luxury as well as Servitude whch the *Romans* introduced among them.

In their Religion and their Laws they were wholly governed by their *Druids*, as were the ancient *Gauls*, who are ſaid to have been furniſh-

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ed with the chiefeſt and moſt learned of theirs, out of *Britain*, eſteemed the Nurſery of the ancient *Druids*, ſo renowned in Story: Theſe were the only Perſons of any ſort of Learning in theſe Nations, which was derived by long Tradition among them, conſiſted in the Obſervation of the Heavens, Knowledge of the Stars and their Courſes, and thereby the Preſages of many Events, or at leaſt Seaſons wherein the Vulgar is chiefly concern'd. The reſt was their Doctrines of Religion, Forms of Divine Worſhip, and Inſtructions in Morality, which conſiſted in Juſtice and Fortitude. Their Lives were ſimple and innocent, in Woods, Caves, and hollow Trees: Their Food of Acorns, Berries, or other Maſte; their Drink, Water: Which made them reſpected and admired, not only

only for knowing more than other Men, but for despising what all others valued and pursued, and by their great Virtue and Temperance they were suffered patiently to reprove and correct the Vices and Crimes, from which themselves were free. All this together gave them such Authority and Veneration among the People, that they were not only the Priests, but the Judges too, throughout the Nation. No Laws were instituted by Princes or common Assemblies, without the Proposal or Approbation of the *Druids*: No Person was punished by Bonds, Strokes, or Death, without the Judgment and Sentence of the *Druids*: From a Belief, that Men would never submit to the Loss of their Liberties, or their Lives, unless they believed it was inflicted upon them by a Divine Authority. One

One Cuſtom there was among the *Britains* which ſeems peculiar to themſelves, and not found in the Stories of any other Nations, either Civil or Barbarous, which was a Society of Wives among certain numbers, and by common conſent. Every Man married a ſingle Woman, who was always after and alone eſteemed his Wife: But it was uſual for five or ſix, ten or twelve, or more, either Brothers or Friends, as they could agree, to have all their Wives in common: Encounters hapned among them as they were invited by Deſire, or favoured by Opportunity. Every Womans Children were attributed to him that had married her; but all had a ſhare in the Care and defence of the whole Society, ſince no Man knew which were his own. Though this Cuſtom be alledged as a Teſtimony

mony how ſavage or barbarous a People the *Britains* were, yet I know not why it ſhould appear more extravagant than the community of Women in ſome other Countries; the deflowering of Virgins by the Prieſt the firſt Night of their Marriage; the unlimited number of Wives and Concubines; not to mention the Marriage of Siſters among the ancient *Egyptians* and *Athenians*, and the borrowing and lending of Wives among the *Romans*. On t'other ſide it may be alledged for ſome excuſe of theſe our Anceſtors, that by ſuch a Cuſtom they avoided the common miſchiefs of Jealouſie, the injuries of Adultery, the Confinement of ſingle Marriages, the Luxury and Expence of many Wives or Concubines, and the partiality of Parents in the Education of all their own Children:

dren: All which are Conſiderations that have fallen under the Care of many famous Law-givers. But the beſt excuſe was made upon this occaſion by a *Britiſh* Woman (in the time of *Severus*) who being grown familiar with *Julia Auguſta*, and other chief Ladies of that Court, and having obſerved what paſſed there behind the Curtain, was one day reproached for this Cuſtom of the *Britains*, as Infamous in the Women, as well as Barbarous in the Men. She anſwered coldly, *We do that openly with the beſt of our Men, which you do privately with the worſt of yours.* However it be, ſuch were the People and the Cuſtoms of *Britain*, when the *Romans* firſt invaded their Iſland under the Enſigns of *Julius Cæſar*. This famous *Roman* Leader then Governour of *Gaul*, after having

ving ſubdued all that Province, and the bordering parts of *Germany*, was the firſt we read of with any certainty, that enter'd *Britain* with Foreign Arms. His Forces were compoſed of *Germans*, *Batavians*, and *Gauls*, beſides the beſt of his Old *Roman* Legions: Yet in two Expeditions he made into this Iſland, he rather encreaſed the Glory than the Dominion of *Rome*; and gave *Britain* the Honour of being the laſt Triumph of that mighty Republick, which had before ſubdued and reduced into Provinces ſo many Kingdoms and Commonwealths in *Europe*, *Aſia* and *Africa*.

The *Britains* with their naked Troops made a Brave Oppoſition againſt this Veterane Army, in many fierce encounters with mutual Loſſes, and various Succeſſes; till Diſſention entering among the ſe-

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veral Princes, ſome of them jealous of *Caſſivelaunus*, or his Greatneſs, fled over to *Cæſar*, ſubmitted to the *Romans*, and deſired their Protection. Others followed their Example, till *Caſſivelaunus* weakned by theſe Deſertions, reſolved likewiſe to make the beſt Terms he could for himſelf and the reſt; he ſends to *Cæſar*, acknowledges the *Roman* State, agrees upon a certain Tribute, and delivers Hoſtages. And here began the Fate of *Britain*, to make way for Foreign Conqueſts by their Diviſions at home.

The *Romans* were pleaſed with the Name of a New Conqueſt, and glad to end an Adventure with ſome Honour, which they found was not further to be purſued without long Time and much Danger; and having diſcovered rather than ſubdued the Southern Parts only

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of the Iſland, returned into *Gaul* with their whole Forces, and left the *Britains* to their own Cuſtoms, Laws, and Governments.

*Ceſar* being eſteemed the beſt Writer, as well as the greateſt Captain of his Age, or perhaps of any other; has with his own Pen left us the beſt Account, not only of this Enterpriſe, but of this Iſland too, till then, little known to the reſt of the World.

Thoſe Tales we have of what paſſed there before his time, of *Brute* and his *Trojans*, of many Adventures and Succeſſions, are covered with the Ruſt of Time, or involved in the Vanity of Fables, or pretended Traditions; which ſeem to all Men obſcure or uncertain, but to me forged at Pleaſure, by the Wit or Folly of their firſt Authors, and not to be regarded.

From the first Entrance of *Cæsar's* Triumphant Arms, we have some constant Light in the Story of *Britain*, tho often very weak and uncertain, from the Obscurity of those Barbarous Nations, who invaded the Northern Parts of the Island; and from the Ignorance of those Illiterate Ages, that passed from the Decay to the Restoration of the *Greek* and *Roman* Languages and Learning, in the Western Parts of *Europe*.

As the *Roman* Conquests advanced in this Island during the Reigns of so many Emperors, the bravest of the Natives, who could not endure that Subjection, retired into the Mountainous and Rocky Parts of *Wales* and *Cornwall*, where they preserved their Liberty some time longer, but fell at last, with the rest, into the common Servitude.

But

But the greateſt numbers, and of the hardeſt Bodies as well as Courage, among the *Britains*, after many brave Attempts for Defence of their Country and Liberty, and many Defeats by the invincible *Romans*, ſtill retired Northward from the Encroachments of the Conqueror, till they were at laſt beaten out into the rough and ſavage Parts, beyond the two Fryths, where the *Romans* afterwards built a Wall. Theſe native *Britains* were by them called *Picts*, from the Cuſtom they ſtill retained of Painting their Bodies and their Shields. And this I take for the moſt probable Account of the Nation ſo termed by the *Romans* (for among themſelves they were called *Albins*) though much Pains and Invention has been employed by many Authors, to make them a Foreign Race of People,

who, from they know not what Country, and at they know not what Time, invaded and poſſeſſed *Caledonia*, or the Northern Parts of *Scotland*.

'Tis more difficult to find out the Original of the *Scots*, or the Time of their Entrance upon thoſe Northweſt Regions; but as far as can be gathered out of the Duſt or Rubbiſh of ſuch barbarous Times and Writings, and what remains ſtill of known Appellations and Events, it ſeems probable, that vaſt numbers of a ſavage People, called *Scyths*, at ſome certain time, began and atchieved the Conqueſt of the *Northern* Parts both of *Britain* and *Ireland*, and by an eaſie Change of the word, were called *Scots*; and from them, thoſe two Countries were called *Scotia major*, and *Scotia minor*. Whether the *Scots* landed

firſt in *Ireland* or *Scotland*, I leave diſputed and undetermined among their Authors: But it ſeems agreed, that both thoſe Countries were for ſome Courſe of Time, ſtiled *Scotiæ*, and that both the Northweſt Parts of *Scotland* as well as *Ireland*, were called *Ierne*. I am apt to conjecture, that when theſe *Scots* ſeated themſelves in thoſe Parts of *Scotland*, they divided themſelves into two Races or Nations, whereof thoſe who inhabited the North-Eaſt Parts, called themſelves *Albin-Scots*, the Name of the Natives there, being then *Albins*; and the reſt who poſſeſſed the Northweſt Parts were called *Iren-Scots*, from a River of that Country, which gave it the Name of *Ierne*; and this Name was communicated to all the reſt of that Race, who conquered and poſſeſſed the North of

*Ireland*, which from them was ſtiled by the *Saxons Iren-land*, and by Abbreviation, *Ireland*. And the Original Name ſeems to have belonged rather to thoſe Parts of *Scotland* than *Ireland*, ſince it is given us by the ancienteſt Latin Verſe that mentions it, with the Epithet of *Glacialis Ierne*, which agrees little with the Clymate of *Ireland*.

That theſe fierce Invaders were *Scythians* or *Scyths* ( which was their Vulgar Termination ) is probably conjectured, if not aſcertained, not only from their Name, but from the Seat of that Continent, which is neareſt to the North of *Scotland*: This is *Norway*, and is the utmoſt Weſtern Province of that vaſt Northern Region which extends from thence to the fartheſt Bounds of *Tartary* upon the Eaſtern Ocean, and was by the Ancients com-

comprehended in that general Appellation of *Scythia*, as well as divided into ſeveral other Barbarous Names and Countries. Beſides, 'tis both uſual and rational, that ſuch great Tranſmigrations of People ſhould be made from a worſe to a better Clymate or Soil, rather than to a worſe, which makes this probable, to have proceeded from *Norway*, than from lower and more fertile parts of *Germany*, and the Iſland which is the neareſt part of Land to that Continent of *Norway*, retains ſtill the Name of *Schetland*, as the firſt point which is reported to have been touched by the *Scots*, or *Scyths*, in this Navigation.

Another Argument may be drawn from ſeveral Cuſtoms ſtill remaining among the Old Northern *Iriſh*, which are recorded to have been anciently among ſome of the *Scythian* Nati-

Nations, removing their Houſes or Creats, from one place to another according to the Seaſons: Burning of their Corn inſtead of Beating or Treading in other Countries: Eating Blood they drew from living Cattle; Feeding generally upon Milk, and uſing little other Huſbandry, beſides the Paſture and Breed of Cattle. To this is added, that the Mantle or Plad, ſeems to have been the Garment in uſe among the Weſtern *Scythians*, as they continue ſtill among the Northern *Iriſh*, and the Highland *Scots*.

For their Language, it muſt be confeſs'd, there is not left the leaſt Trace by which we may ſeek out the Original of this Nation; for it is neither known, nor recorded to have been uſed any where elſe in the World, beſides *Ireland*, the High-lands of *Scotland*, and the Iſle

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of *Man*, and muſt be allowed to be an Original Language, without any Affinity to the Old Britiſh, or any other upon the Continent, and perhaps with leſs mixture, than any other of thoſe Original Languages yet remaining in any parts of *Europe*. The Conjecture raiſed of its having come from *Spain*, becauſe ſome *Spaniſh* words are obſerved in it, appears too light to be regarded, when thoſe very words are of the modern *Spaniſh*, which is a Language not above ſeven or eight Hundred Years Old, and compounded chiefly out of Old *Roman* and *Gothick*, with a later intruſion of the *Saracen* among them: And yet I know no better ground than this, for the other Tradition of *Ireland* having been anciently planted from *Spain*, and eſteem the few *Spaniſh* words to have been introduced only

ly by Traffick of the South-weſt parts of *Ireland* to *Spain*.

It ſeems probable, that from what part ſoever of the Continent this Nation Sailed upon this Adventure, they were driven away by the force or fear of ſome other Invaders, and in ſo great numbers, that the Natives remaining, neither preſerved any where their Name or Language, but were either deſtroy'd by the Conquerors, or blended into the Maſs of the new Nations, who ſeated themſelves in their Country, as we find the Old *Britiſh* to have been in *England*, by the Conqueſts and Inundations of the *Saxons*.

The time of this Expedition is yet leſs in view; nor does *Buchanan*, or any other Author that I know of, pretend to tell, or ſo much as conjecture further, than upon a ſuppoſition of the *Scots* coming firſt out

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of *Ireland*, without alledging any Authority for that neither. I know no way of making any gueſſes at a matter ſo obſcure, without recourſe to the Runick Learning and Stories, by which we find that the *Aſiatick Scythians*, under the Names of *Getes* or *Goths*, and the Conduct of *Odin* their Captain, (their Law-giver at firſt, and afterwards one of their Gods) are eſteemed to have begun their Expedition into the Northweſt parts of *Europe*, about the time that the *Roman* Arms began firſt to make a great noiſe, and give great fears in *Aſia*, which was in the Reigns of *Antiochus* firſt, and then of *Mithridates*. How long the Arms of *Odin* and his Succeſſors were imployed in the Conqueſt and Settlement of that vaſt Kingdom, which contained all the Tracts of Country ſurrounding the

Baltick

Baltick Sea, is not agreed upon in these Runick Stories; but 'tis necessary, *Norway* must have been the last they possessed in their Western Progress, and I am apt to think, the *Scyths* may have been driven by them, to seek nearer Seats in our Islands; and that 'tis probable, to have been some time of the first Century. Whenever it was, it seems more agreed, that after the first Entrance of the *Scots* into *Caledonia*, they subdued much of the Country, mingled with the rest of the Native *Picts*, continued long to infest the Frontier Parts of the *Roman* Colonies in *Britain*, with great fierceness, and many various Events; and would possibly have made much greater noise and impressions upon the *Romans*, if their greater Numbers had not been drawn another way,

by

by ſo great a Drain as that of *Ireland*; which they totally conquered, and long poſſeſſed.

This is the beſt Account I have been ever able to give my ſelf of theſe ancient Times and Events in the Northern Parts of our Iſlands, being a matter that has imployed ſo many unskilful Pens, in ſo much idle Traſh, and worthleſs Stuff, as they have left upon it; but all involved in ſuch groundleſs Traditions and vanity of Fables, ſo obſcured by the length of Time, and darkneſs of unlearned Ages, or covered over with ſuch groſs Forgeries, made at Pleaſure by their firſt Inventers, that I know few ancient Authors upon this ſubject, worth the pains of Peruſal, and of dividing or refining ſo little Gold, out of ſo much courſe Oar, or from ſo much Droſs. And I

have the rather made this Excurſion, becauſe I have met with nothing in Story more Obſcure, and often obſerved with wonder, that we ſhould know leſs of *Ireland*, than of any other Country in *Europe*: For, beſides its having been anciently planted by the *Scots*, and taken their Name, and then after ſeveral Centuries been ſubdued, and much of it planted by the *Danes*; we know nothing certain of the Affairs or Revolutions of that Iſland, till the *Engliſh* began their Conqueſts there, under the Enſigns of *Henry* the Second. For the *Daniſh* Eſtabliſhments there, we neither know the Time nor the manner they either began or ended, though many Monuments ſtill remain of the Towns and Caſtles they Built, and many Records among ſome Families in *Denmark*,

of

of the Lands and Poſſeſſions they long held and enjoyed in *Ireland*.

I ſhall now return to that part of our Iſland which was more properly by the *Romans* termed *Britannia*, was Conquered by the Victorious Arms, and reduced into a Province by the wiſe Inſtitutions of that renowned Nation; and having once found the end of the Thread, it will be eaſie to wind off the Bottom; and being a Subject treated by ſo many Authors, and pretty well agreed, I ſhall trouble my ſelf no further, than to continue the Thread as it leads through the ſeveral Revolutions that have happened in this noble Iſland, till the laſt *Norman* Period, by which the preſent Succeſſion and Government ſeem to have been Eſtabliſh'd, and have ever ſince continued.

The *Roman* Arms entered *Britain* under the firſt and moſt renowned of their Emperors, which was *Julius Cæſar*: But it was not a Quarry worth ſuch an Eagle, and ſo left by him, to be purſued by the Lieutenants of the ſucceeding Emperors.

The ſecond Expedition into *Britain* was made by *Claudius*, under the Conduct of *Plautius*, and purſued under *Oſtorius*, and other *Roman* Commanders, with great Succeſſes. The Southern Coaſts, with moſt of the inland Parts thereunto adjacent, were wholly ſubdued and ſecured by Fortifying Camps, Building Caſtles, and Planting many Colonies. The reſt ſeemed at a Gaze, and to Promiſe Submiſſions at the firſt, rather than any Diſturbances, to the Progreſs of the *Roman* Arms. Till provoked by

by the Oppreſſion of ſome of the Pretors, and their corrupt Officers; The *Britains* towards the North, made head under *Caractacus*, and continued for nine years, not only a brave Defence, but threatned ſome fatal Dangers to the *Roman* Colonies, till in a deciſive Battel, by the advantage of armed and diſciplined Veteran Soldiers, againſt looſe Troops of naked Men; The *Britains* were totally vanquiſhed, *Caractacus* taken Priſoner, and ſent to make a part of a famous *Britiſh* Triumph at *Rome*. Yet one ſtrong Endeavour more was made for their Liberty, in the time of *Nero*; when *Paulinus* going with the beſt part of his Army to ſubdue the Iſle of *Angleſey*; The *Britains* preſuming upon ſo great a Diſtance between the Governour and his Colonies, made a general Inſurrecti-

on under *Voadicea*, fell upon the *Romans* in all Places, took their Caſtles, deſtroyed the chief Seats of their Power at *London* and *Verulam*, and purſued their Advantages with ſuch Slaughter and Revenge, that above ſeventy Thouſand *Romans*, or their Auxiliaries, were killed by the Fury of this general Revolt: Yet *Paulinus* returning with his Army, encountred the *Britiſh* Forces in a ſet Battel, overthrew their whole Powers, purſued his Victory, with the Slaughter of eighty Thouſand; forceth *Voadicea* to Poiſon her ſelf in Deſpair: And here ended, not only the *Britiſh* Liberties, but their very Hopes too, or any conſiderable Attempts ever to recover them.

Under *Veſpatian* and *Domitian*, *Julius Agricola* firſt diſcovered it to be an Iſland, Sailing round it with his

his Fleets, and extended and pacified the Bounds of his Province to the Neck of Land between the two Fryths about *Sterling* and *Glaſco*; and returning, applied himſelf to the Arts of Peace and Civil Inſtitutions, brought in the Uſe of the *Roman* Laws and Cuſtoms, Habits and Arms, Language and Manners, Baths and Feaſts, Studies and Learning: By all which he pretended to ſoften the Minds, and change the very Natures of a barbarous People, very difficult to be ſubdued by other means, how violent ſoever. This wiſe Council purſued by his Succeſſors in the Government, ſucceeded ſo well, that the *Romans* had little trouble afterwards in *Britain*, beſides the Defence of their Province upon the Northern Borders.

After theſe Eſtabliſhments, the *Romans* called all that part of the Iſland lying Northward from the two Fryths, *Caledonia*; leaving the Name of *Britannia* to the reſt which was reduced to their Obedience, and from that time remained a *Roman* Province. To defend it from the Irruptions of theſe fierce and numerous People on the North ſide, *Agricola* began, and in ſome manner finiſhed, a Wall or Vallum, upon that narrow ſpace of Land that lies between the two Fryths or Bays of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Seas; upon which *Glaſco* and *Sterling* are ſeated. He fortified this Paſs between the two Points, with Towers and Ramparts, to make it defenſible againſt thoſe barbarous Nations who inhabited the Northern ſide of that Country which the *Romans* eſteem-

ed

ed not worth the Conquering, and provided only for Security of the reſt of the Iſland. Many Ruins of this Vallum were lately, and for ought I know, may be ſtill remaining; and among the reſt, a ſmall round Tower built of Stone, but ſo exactly Cut, as every one to Joynt into another, with admirable Art and Firmneſs, though without any uſe of Morter or Iron. And this was eſteemed to have been a Temple of *Terminus*, and Built there as the utmoſt Bounds of the *Roman* Province. This Wall was afterwards repaired and ſtronger fortified by *Adrian* and *Severus*: Nor is it indeed agreed by Authors which of them began or finiſh'd it, and whether the laſt made not another Vallum between the two Seas more Southward, and of a much greater Length: But I think the

firſt more probable. However, this was a Defence intended and atchieved by the *Romans*, againſt thoſe bold and brave Remainders of the *Northern Britains* aſſiſted by the *Scots*, who yet frequently invaded and infeſted the Province, during the time the *Romans* held this Iſland, which was till the Reign of *Honorius*, and for the ſpace of about four hundred and ſixty Years.

Upon the Diviſions in the *Roman* Empire, which was grown a Prey to their Armies, and commonly diſpoſed by their inconſtant Humours; The pretenders often fought their Battels, and decided their Quarrels in *Gallia*, as well ſeveral of the Commanders there who arrived at the Empire, as ſeveral others who fell in the purſuit of that fatal Purple, and left only

the

the Name of Tyrants behind them in the Stories of that Age. For the aſſiſtance of theſe Factions, the *Britiſh* Legions were at ſeveral Times and Occaſions drawn away into *Gaul*, and with them great Numbers of the braveſt of the *Britiſh* Youth, who were affectionate to the *Roman* Government, and inſtructed in their Language, Manners, and Diſcipline of their Arms. As the *Roman* Forces decreaſed in *Britain*, the *Picts* and *Scots* ſtill the more boldly infeſted the Northern Parts, croſſing the Fryths, and hovering about the Coaſts in little Boats of Wicker, covered with Leather, filled all, where they came, with Spoil and Slaughter, till repelled by what remained of the *Roman* Forces, they retired ſtill into their Northern Neſt, watching for the next occaſion of Invaſion,

vaſion, and Revenge upon the Neighbouring *Britains*, whenever the *Romans* were drawn away into remoter Parts of the Iſland. Theſe Enterpriſes were often repeated, and as often repreſs'd, for ſome time, till in the Reign of the ſecond *Valentinian* upon the mighty Inundations of thoſe barbarous Northern Nations, which under the Names of *Goths* and *Vandals* invaded the *Roman* Empire with infinite Numbers, Fury, and Danger to *Rome* it ſelf, all the *Roman* Legions were at laſt drawn out of *Britain*, with moſt of the *Britains* that were fit for Military Service, to relieve the Emperor, who was purſued by the *Goths* into *Piedmont*, and there beſieged in a ſtrong Paſſage or Town he pretended to Defend.

The *Romans* taking their laſt Leave of this Province here, left the *Britains* to their own Government, and Choice of their own Kings and Leaders, with the beſt Inſtructions for the Exerciſe of their Arms and Diſcipline, and the Repairs and Defence of the Wall or Rampart they had raiſed againſt their Northern Foes. But theſe, finding the whole Country deſerted by the *Roman* Bands, exhauſted of their own braveſt Youth, and weakned by their new Diviſions, began to pour in greater Numbers than ever into the Northern Parts, and ravaged all before them, with greater Rage and Fury. The poor *Britains* ſent over their miſerable Epiſtle for Relief ( ſtill upon Record ) to the renowned *Ætius*, who had by ſeveral famous Succeſſes, for a time, repelled the Violence

olence of the *Gothick* Arms; which was addreſſed in theſe words: *To Ætius thrice Conſul; The Groans of the* Britains; and told him, after other lamentable Complaints, *That the barbarous People drove them to the Sea, and the Sea back to the barbarous People; between which, they had only left the Choice of theſe two Deaths, either to be killed by the one, or drowned by the other.* But having no Hopes given them by the *Roman* General, of any Succors from that Side, they began to conſider what other Nation they might call over to their Relief.

The *Saxons* were one Branch of thoſe *Gothick* Nations, which ſwarming from the Northern Hive, had under the Conduct of *Odin* poſſeſſed themſelves anciently of all thoſe mighty tracts of Land that ſurround the Baltick Sea. A Branch of theſe,

theſe, under the Name of *Suevi*, (from whom the Baltick was of old called *Mare Suevicum*) had ſome time before *Cæſar*'s Wars in *Gaul*, invaded and ſubdued very large extended Territories in *Germany* from the Coaſt of the North-weſt Ocean to the South-eaſtern Parts, whereof *Suabia* ſtill retains the Memory and the Name. Theſe *Suevi* or *Suabi* were for their Strength and Valour grown ſo Formidable to all the *German* Nations they had Conquered, and forced to ſeek new Seats; That thoſe upon the *Rhine*, ſending Embaſſadors to *Cæſar*, told him, *They would neither ſeek War with the* Romans, *nor avoid it; That they eſteemed themſelves as Valiant as any other Nation, excepting only the* Suevi, *for whom the very immortal Gods were not a Match.* Theſe *Suevi* became

after-

afterwards divided into two ſeveral Nations, and by Limits agreed between them. Thoſe towards the South-eaſt of *Germany* were called *Franci*, from their great Love of Liberty, and their Valour in preſerving it, and never ſubmitting to the *Roman* Subjection, as many other *German* Nations had done; Theſe upon the fatal Decline of that Empire, invaded *Gaul* under the leading of *Pharamond*, and under the ſucceeding Kings of his Race, conquered the whole Province, and eſtabliſhed that noble and ancient Kingdom of *France*.

The other Branch of the *Suevi*, poſſeſſed themſelves of all thoſe Tracts of Land in *Germany* that lie between the *Elve* and the lower *Rhine*, had extended their Seats all over the Coaſts of the North-weſt Sea, and from thence exerciſed their

Arms

Arms and fierce Courages, in all ſorts of Spoils and Pyracies, not only upon Merchants or Traders at Sea, but upon the Maritime Coaſts of *Britain*, oppoſite to thoſe Countries about the Mouth of the *Rhine*, or thereunto adjacent. Theſe fierce People were called *Saxons*, from a Weapon generally uſed among them, and made like a Scythe with the Edge reverſed, which in their Language were termed *Seaxes*.

To theſe, *Vortigern*, choſen King by the deſerted and afflicted *Britains*, made Addreſs for Aid againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, who had now made Inroads as far as *Trent*. Their deſires of Relief, and offers of Seats in *Britain*, were ſoon accepted and granted by the *Saxons*, who under the Conduct of *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, of the Race of *Odin*, came

over

over with great Numbers, to the Assistance of the *Britains*, in the year 450. They joined with the Natives at first, as Friends and Allies, had the Isle of *Thanet* assigned them at their Landing, and upon occasion of greater numbers, the County of *Kent* for their Colony and Habitation. They marched against the *Picts* and *Scots*, and in Conjunction with the *British* Arms, overthrew their Forces, in several Battels or Encounters with those cruel Ravagers, and beat them back into the most Northern Parts of the Province. After this, by Consent of the *Britains*, *Hengist* and *Horsa* sent for their two Sons or near Kinsmen, to come over with a new Army of *Saxons* by Sea, into those Northern parts; who seated their Colony about *Northumberland*, upon pretence of guard-

guarding that Frontier against the *Picts* and *Scots*, and their Incurſions upon the *Britains*, which they did with great Bravery and Succeſſes, and thereby left thoſe Nations, contented or forced, to bound their Territories with thoſe rough and mountainous Countries that lye between the two Seas, near the River *Tweed*, and which ever ſince continued, as the Borders between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, into which, the Iſland came afterwards to be divided.

The Province, now delivered and ſecured from their ancient Foes, Diſſentions began to ariſe between the *Britains* and their new Allies; The *Saxons*, valued too high the aſſiſtance they had given, and the *Britains* perhaps too low what they had received, till the firſt allured by ſo fair a Prey, and the fertile

Soil of ſo ſweet a Country, inviting ſtill greater numbers from the Continent, eſtabliſh'd two *Saxon* Kingdoms, one in the Southern, and t'other in the Northern Parts; and from both theſe ſides invaded the *Britains*, who for ſome time defended themſelves and their Liberties, with various Succeſſes, and with the greater hatred and diſtinction, the *Saxons* being all Pagans, and the *Britiſh* generally Chriſtians; which Religion ſeems to have been planted here in the firſt Century, but to have taken Root, and ſpread chiefly under *Conſtantius*, who was long Governour of the *Roman* Province here, a great favourer of Chriſtianity, and Father of *Conſtantine* the Great.

In the time of theſe firſt Wars between the *Saxons* and *Britains*, *Ambroſius* reigned over the laſt, and either

either as General of his Armies, or his Succeſſor in the Kingdom, *Arthur*, ſo famous in the Traditions, or rather in the Romances of ſucceeding Ages, and who is ſaid to have gained twelve Battels over the *Saxons*, and to have left the *Britains* in the middle of the Province, for ſome time to ſecure from theſe fierce Enemies, till Peace and Luxury had again ſoftned them, and by new Diſſentions among themſelves, expoſed their whole Province to become an eaſie Prey to ſo fierce and numerous Invaders. The time of King *Arthur*'s Reign or Atchievements (if any ſuch there were) muſt have been between the Years 460 and 500. But this whole Story is left ſo uncertain or obſcure by thoſe poor Writers, who have pretended to leave the Tales, rather than the Hiſtory of

thoſe times behind them, that it remains in doubt, whether to conſider them as a part of the Story of that, or the Fables of ſucceeding Ages. Whatever there was of plain Stuff, the Embroidery of it, with the Knights of the Round Table, their Orders and their Chivalry, and the reſt of that kind, ſeems to have been introduced by that Vein of the *Spaniſh* Romances, which many Ages after filled the World with ſo much of that idle Traſh, and choſe for the Subject of them, the Adventures and Succeſſes of the firſt Chriſtian pretended Heroes, who renowned ſuch fictious Names, by extravagant Actions or Adventures againſt the *Pagans* or the *Saracens*, either in *Spain* or other parts of *Europe* and *Aſia*. And among theſe, 'tis probable thoſe Writers found room

for

for the many Legends of the *Britiſh Arthur*, and his Romantick Adventures againſt the Heathen *Saxons*.

After the Year 500, for one Century or thereabouts, the *Saxon* Forces were employed in ſubduing the midland Parts of *Britain*, interjacent between their two firſt Eſtabliſh'd Colonies or Kingdoms in the South or *Kent*, and in the North, or about *Northumberland*; and to furniſh Men for ſuch Atchievements, and the new Plantation of ſo great Tracts of Country, after the Conqueſt and Devaſtation of the Old, mighty numbers of the *Saxon* Race came over into *Britain* in ſeveral Expeditions, and Landing at ſeveral Places; That which is recorded to have made ſudden and eaſie way for their final Conqueſts, was a Treaty they entered

tered into with the *Britains*, where upon a Parley mediated between them, Three Hundred of the Chief on each ſide, agreed to meet and conclude the Treaty in a great Plain: In the midſt of Talk and Drink, which had part in this Commerce, the *Saxons* provoking maliciouſly, and the *Britans* innocently reſenting, fell to quarrel; firſt in Words, and at laſt to Blows: When the *Saxons* upon a Sign agreed between them, drew out ſhort Swords they had concealed under their upper Garments, fell upon the unarmed *Britains*, ſlew their whole number in the Field, who being the beſt and braveſt of their Nation, left the reſt expoſed, without Heart or Head, to the Fury and Progreſs of the *Saxon* Arms. Theſe heartned with Succeſs, and proud of

ſo great Poſſeſſions and Territories, invited and allured ſtill greater Numbers of their own from abroad, who being of ſeveral Branches, and from ſeveral Coaſts, arrived here under ſeveral Names; among whom the Angles from *Schonen* and *Jutland*, ſwarmed over in ſuch numbers, that they gave a new Name at length, to this Province, which from them was called *Angle-land*, and for eaſier ſound *England*.

The *Saxons* purſued their Invaſion with Courage and Fierceneſs, equal to the Multitudes of their Nation, that ſwarmed over into this Iſland, and with ſuch an uninterrupted Courſe of Fortune and Victories, after the year 500. that by the end of the next Century, they had ſubdued the whole Body of the Province, and eſtabliſh'd in

it ſeven ſeveral Kingdoms, which were by the Writers of thoſe Times, ſtiled the Heptarchy of the *Saxons*. They had expelled the *Britains* out of the faireſt and beſt of their ancient poſſeſſions, and driven their greateſt numbers, who eſcaped the Conqueror's Fury, into *Wales* and *Cornwal*, Countries mountainous and barren, encompaſſed on three ſides by the Sea, and towards the Land, of difficult Acceſs. Some great Colonies of them, wholly abandoned their Native Country to their fierce Invaders, ſailed over into the North-weſt Parts of *France*, where poſſeſſing new Seats, they gave a new Appellation to that *Peninſula*, which preſerves ſtill the Name and Memory of *Britain* there, though about this time, almoſt worn out at home.

This

This is the Account commonly given of the *Britiſh* Colonies firſt eſtabliſhing themſelves in that Canton of *Gaul*; But there is another given by ſome learned Perſons of their own, and drawn, as they ſay, either from ancient Archives or Traditions among them, and which to me ſeems the moſt probable. When upon the *Roman* Wars in *Gaul*, among ſeveral Pretenders to the Empire, great numbers of the *Britains*, as well as *Roman* Forces in that Iſland, were drawn over to aſſiſt the contending Parties; 'Tis ſaid that very great Multitudes of the *Britiſh* having followed the unfortunate ſide, retired as faſt as they could to that part of the Sea-coaſt neareſt to their Iſle, and moſt likely to furniſh them with Ships for their Tranſportation: But, that the miſeries

ſeries of their Native Country, from the furious Inroads of the *Picts* and *Scots*, ſo diſcouraged their Return, that by Conſent of the *Gauls* their Friends, they eſtabliſhed themſelves in the furtheſt *North-weſt* Parts of that Province, which has ſince that time, retained their Language and their Name. And this agrees with the Legend of King *Arthur*, who is ſaid to have been a young Prince or Leader, ſent from the *Britains* in *France*, to aſſiſt their Country-men here againſt the *Saxons*. Whatever the Beginnings of this Colony were, or at what time, 'tis at leaſt agreed to have been much augmented by the Reſort of ſo many *Britains*, as ſought Refuge there from the *Saxon* Cruelty.

The weak and poor Remainders of the Old *Britains*, who were ſcattered

tered among the *Saxons* in *England*, were wholly ſpoiled of their Lands and Goods, which were fallen under the Mercy of the Conquerors, who ſharing them all among themſelves, left the remaining *Britains* in a Condition of downright Servitude, uſed them for Tilling Ground, Feeding Cattle, and other Servile Works, in Houſe or Field, ſometimes Farming out certain parts of Land to them, at certain Rents or Profits, but held always at the Will and Pleaſure of the Landlord. The Children that were born of theſe miſerable People, belonged to the Lord of the Soil, like the reſt of the Stock or Cattle upon it, and thus began Villenage in *England*, which laſted till the time or end of *Henry* the Seventh's Reign.

Soon

Soon after the year 600. the *Saxons* in *England* having ended their old Quarrel with the *Britains*, began new ones among themſelves; and according to the uſual Circle of human Affairs, War ended in Peace, Peace in Plenty and Luxury, theſe in Pride; and Pride in Contention, till the Circle ended in new Wars. The *Saxon* Princes, of the ſeven Kingdoms they had erected in *Britain*, fell into Emulations of one anothers Greatneſs, Diſputes about the Bounds of their ſeveral Principalities, or about Succeſſions or Uſurpations, pretended or exerciſed in one or other of them; Theſe were followed by formal Wars among them, the ſtronger ſwallowing up the weaker, and theſe having recourſe to their Neighbours, for defence againſt encroaching Power. Many

fierce

fierce Encounters, Sieges, Battels, Spoils, and Devaſtations of Country, ſucceeded in the progreſs and deciſion of theſe mutual Injuries and Invaſions between the *Saxon* Kings, for above Two Hundred Years; but the account of them is very poorly given us, with little order or agreement of Times or Actions by the few and mean Authors of thoſe barbarous and illiterate Ages; And perhaps the rough courſe of thoſe lawleſs Times and Actions, would have been too ignoble a Subject for a good Hiſtorian.

About the Year 830. after many various Events and Revolutions between the ſeveral Races of the Heptarchy, *Ecbert* deſcended from the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, having inherited moſt of the Succeſſions from the Proweſs and Exploits of his

his Anceſtors, and acquired others by his own, became the firſt ſole King or Monarch of *England*, as it now was diſtinguiſhed from the Principality of *Wales*, poſſeſſed by the old *Britains*, and from that part of the Iſland to the North of *Tweed*, poſſeſſed by the *Picts* and *Scots*, and by the *Saxons* ſtiled by one common Name of *Scotland*.

This famous Adventure of the *Saxons* in *England*, was atchieved by the Force and Confluence of ſuch Multitudes from the Coaſts of *Germany*, which lie between the *Belgick* and *Baltick* Shores, that ſome Parts of their Native Countries were left almoſt diſpeopled, to fill again by new Swarms from the great Northern Hive, and the Number of *Saxons* and *Angles*, *Jutes*, and other Nations that came over,

over, were not only ſufficient to Conquer and Waſt this whole Province, but even to Plant and People it ſoon again, with numerous and new Inhabitants. So as by them, ſucceeded in this Iſland, not only a Change of Government, as by the *Roman* Arms; but a Change of the very People or Nation, that inhabited or poſſeſſed the Lands of this whole Province: This induced a Change likewiſe of Names, of Language, of Cuſtoms, of Laws, of Arms, of Diſcipline, of Poſſeſſions, of Titles, of Religion, and even of the whole Face of Nature, through this whole Kingdom. So as we may juſtly date the Original of all theſe amongſt us, as well as our Nation it ſelf, from theſe our *Saxon* Anceſtors: *Britain*, which was before a *Roman* Province, was

now

now grown a *Saxon* Kingdom; and inſtead of its former Name was called *England*: The Language which was either Latin or Britiſh, was now grown wholly Saxon or Engliſh: The Land that was before divided into *Roman* Colonies or Governments, was ſo now into Shires, with Names given to them by the Saxons, as they firſt poſſeſſed, or afterwards thought fit to diſtinguiſh them.

The Habits in Peace, and Arms in War, the Titles of Officers in both, as well as of great Counſellors to their Kings, or great Proprietors of Lands, came to be all according to the Saxon Forms and Uſage. The Laws of this Country which before were *Roman*, changed now into Old Saxon Cuſtoms or Conſtitutions. Their Princes or Leaders of their ſeveral Nati-

Nations, became *Konings* or Kings of the Territories they had ſubdued. They reſerved part of the Lands to themſelves for their Revenue, and ſhared the reſt among their chief Commanders, by great Diviſions, and among their Soldiers by ſmaller ſhares. The firſt, who had the great Diviſions, were called Earls or Barons, thoſe of the ſmaller were Knights; and the ſmalleſt of all were Freemen, who poſſeſſed ſome Proportions of free Lands, and were thereby diſtinguiſhed from the Villens, that held nothing but at the Will of the Landlord.

In this univerſal Transformation, Religion it ſelf had a ſhare, like all the reſt, and received new Forms and Orders, with the new Inhabitants, whilſt all that was *Roman* or *Britiſh*, expired together

in this Country: The *Britains* began early to receive the Christian Faith; and as is reported from some of the Disciples themselves: And this was so propagated among them, that when the *Romans* left the Province, they were generally Christians, and had their Priests and Bishops from that ancient and Apostolick Institution. The *Saxons* were a sort of Idolatrous Pagans, that worshipped several Gods peculiar to themselves, among whom *Woden*, *Thor*, and *Frea* were the chief, which left their Memory still preserved by the common names of three days in the Week: This Religious Worship they introduced with them, and continued long in *England*, till they subdued the *Britains*, reduced it under their Heptarchy of *Saxon* Kings, persecuted the *British* Christians, and drove

drove them with their Religion, into *Wales*, where they continued under their Primitive Prieſts and Biſhops, who with their Monks, were all under the Surintendance of one Arch-Prieſt or Biſhop of *Carleon* the Bound of the *Britiſh* Principality. About the year 600. Pope *Gregory* ſent *Auſtin* the Monk to Preach the Goſpel in *England* to the Heathen *Saxons*, who landing at *Dover*, was received with Humanity by *Ethelbert* King of the South-*Saxons*; and being admitted with four or five of his Companions, as well-meaning Men, to teach and explain the Doctrin and Myſteries of Chriſtianity, among theſe ignorant and barbarous People, they ſo well ſucceeded, that they converted at firſt, great numbers of the common ſort, and at length

the King himſelf, whoſe example gave eaſie way for introducing the Chriſtian Faith into his whole Kingdom, which from thence ſpread into all the Countries ſubject to the *Saxon* Heptarchy. Thus Religion came to be Eſtabliſh'd in *England*, under the Rites and Forms and Authority of the *Roman* Church; by which *Auſtin* was inſtituted chief Biſhop in *England*, and ſeated by the *Saxon* King at *Canterbury*. But his Juriſdiction though admitted in all the *Saxon* Territories, was not received by the *Britiſh* Prieſts or People in *Wales*, though endeavour'd by many miſſions from *Auſtin* and his Succeſſors, and even by Wars and Perſecutions of the *Saxons*, upon the Old *Britiſh* Chriſtians, at the inſtigation of the New *Romiſh* Prieſts, in one of which near *Carleon*, Twelve Hundred

dred of the poor *Britiſh* Monks are ſaid to have been ſlaughtered, while they were apart in the Field at their Prayers for the ſucceſs of the *Britiſh* Army.

With this Account of a new face and ſtate of Perſons and of Things both Natural, Civil, and Religious, eſtabliſh'd in *England*, I return to the Period I left, of the *Saxon* Heptarchy, which being extinguiſh'd by long and various Revolutions among themſelves, made way for the Reign of *Ecbert*, the firſt ſole King or Monarch of *England* about the year 830.

It might have been reaſonably expected, that a wiſe and fortunate Prince, at the Head of ſo great a Dominion, and ſo brave and numerous a People, as the *Engliſh*, after the Expulſion of

the *Picts* and *Scots* out of his Country into the rough Northern Parts, and of the *Britains* into the North-weſt Corners of the Iſland, ſhould not only have enjoyed the Fruits of Peace and Quiet, but left much Felicity as well as greatneſs, to many ſucceeding Generations, both of Prince and People. Yet ſuch is the inſtability of Human Affairs, and the weakneſs of their beſt Conjectures, That *Ecbert* was hardly warm in his united Throne, when both he and his Subjects began to be alarmed and perplexed at the approach of new and unknown Enemies; and this Iſland expoſed to New Invaſions.

About this time, a mighty Swarm of the Old Northern Hive, who had poſſeſſed the Seats about the Baltick (almoſt deſerted by ſuch numbers of *Goths*, *Vandals* and

and *Saxons*, as had iſſued out of them ſome Centuries before) began, under the Names of *Danes* and *Normans*, to infeſt at firſt the Sea, and at length the Lands of the *Belgick*, *Gallick*, and *Britiſh* Shores, filling all where they came, with Slaughters, Spoils, and Devaſtations. The *Normans* firſt over-run the *Belgick* Provinces upon the Mouth of the *Rhine*, and gave them new Names of *Holland* and *Zealand* to thoſe parts adjacent to the Sea: Afterwards they ſailed with mighty Numbers into the Mouth of the *Sean*, and with great fierceneſs ſubdued that Northern part of *France*, which from them firſt received, and ever ſince retained the Name of *Normandy*, and became the State of a great *Norman* Duke, and his Succeſſors for ſeveral Generations.

In the mean time, the *Danes* began their Inroads and furious Invaſions upon the Coaſts of *England*, with mighty numbers of Ships, full of fierce and barbarous People, ſometimes entring the *Thames*, ſometimes the *Humber*, other times Coaſting as far as *Exeter*, Landing where-ever they found the Shores unguarded, filling all with Ravage, Slaughter, Spoil, and Devaſtations of the Country; where they found any ſtrong Oppoſition, retiring to their Ships, ſailing home laden with Spoil; and by ſuch encouragements, giving Life to new Expeditions the next Seaſon of the Year. The braveſt Blood of the *Engliſh* had been exhauſted in their own Civil Wars, during the Contentions of the Heptarchy; ſince thoſe ended, the reſt

reſt were grown ſlothful with Peace and with Luxury, ſoftned with new Devotions of their Prieſts and their Monks, with Penances, and Pilgrimages, and great numbers running into Cloyſters, and grown as unequal a Match now for the *Danes*, as the *Britiſh* had been for the *Saxons* before. Yet this Century paſſed not without many various Succeſſes between the two Nations; many Victories and many Defeats on both ſides, ſo that twelve Battels are ſaid to have been Fought between them in one Year. The *Danes* divided their Force into ſeveral Camps, removed them from one part of the Country to another as they were forced by neceſſity of Proviſions, or invited by hopes of new Spoils, or the weakneſs and diviſions of the *Engliſh*:

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At length, fortified Posts and Passages, built Castles for defence of Borders, one against the other, which gave the beginning to those numerous Forts and Castles that were scattered over the whole Country, and lasted so long, as to remain many of them, to this very Age. The *English* sometimes repulsed these Invasions, sometimes purchased the Safety of their Provinces by great Sums of Money, which occasioned great Exactions of their Kings upon the People, and that great Discontents; While the *Danes* encreasing still, by new Supplies of Numbers and Force, began to mingle among the Inhabitants of those parts they had subdued, made Truces and Treaties, and thereupon grew to live more peaceably under the Laws and Government of the *English* Kings.

*Alfred*,

*Alfred*, to prevent the danger of New Invaſions, began to Build Ships for the Defence of his Coaſts, and *Edgar* a Prince of great Wiſdom and Felicity in his Reign, applying all his thoughts to the encreaſe and greatneſs of his Naval Forces, as the true ſtrength and ſafety of his Kingdom, raiſed them to that height both of Numbers and Force, and diſpoſed them with that Order, for the Guard of the Seas round the whole Iſland, as proved not only ſufficient to ſecure his own Coaſts from any new Invaſions, but the Seas themſelves from the Rovers and Spoilers of thoſe Northern Nations, who had ſo long infeſted them: So that all Traders were glad to come under his Protection. Which gave a riſe to that Right, ſo long claimed by the Crown of *England* to the Dominion

minion of the Seas, about the year 960.

But these provisions for the safety of the Kingdom, began to decline with the Life of *Edgar*, and neglected in the succeeding Reigns, made way for new Expeditions of the *Danes*, who exacted new Tribute from the Kings, and Spoils from the Subjects, till *Ethelred* compounding with them for his own Safety, and their peaceable living in *England*, and fortifying himself by an Alliance with *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, laid a design for the general Massacre of the *Danes*, spred abroad and living peaceably throughout the Realm, which was carried on with that secrecy and concurrence of all the *English*, that it was executed upon one day, and the whole Nation of the *Danes* massacred in *England* about the year 1002. This

This cruel and perfidious Maſſacre, of ſo many Thouſands, inſtead of ending the long miſeries of this Kingdom from the Violences, Invaſions and Intruſions of the *Danes*, made way for new and greater Calamities than before: For *Swane* King of *Denmark*, exaſperated by the Slaughter of his Nation here, and among them of his own Siſter, and animated by the Succeſſes of ſo many private Expeditions; ſoon after landed with great Forces, formed ſeveral Camps of *Danes* in ſeveral parts of *England*, filled all with Spoil and Slaughter, forced *Ethelred* to fly for Relief into *Normandy*; and though he returned again, yet being a weak and cruel Prince, and thereby ill beloved, and ill obeyed by his Subjects, he never recovered Strength enough to oppoſe the Forces and Num-

Numbers of the *Danes*, to whom many of the *Engliſh* Nobles, as well as Commoners, had in his abſence ſubmitted.

*Swane* died before he could atchieve this Adventure, but left his Son *Canute* in a Courſe of ſuch proſperous Fortunes, and the *Engliſh* ſo broken or divided, that coming out of *Denmark* with new Forces in two hundred Ships, he reduced *Edmund* Son of *Ethelred*, firſt to a Diviſion of the whole Kingdom between them, and after his untimely Death, was by the whole Nobility of the Realm acknowledged and received for King of *England*. This fierce Prince cut off ſome of the Royal Line, and forced others into Exile, Reigned long, and left the Crown for two Succeſſions to his *Daniſh* Race, who all ſwore to Govern

the

the Realm by the Laws which had been eſtabliſhed, or rather digeſted by *Edward* the Firſt, and *Edgar*, out of the Old *Saxon* Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions. But *Hardecnute*, laſt of the *Daniſh* Kings dying ſuddenly at a Feaſt in the year 1042. left the Race ſo hated, by the Impoſition and Exaction of ſeveral Tributes upon his People, that *Edward* ſurnamed the Confeſſor, and Grandſon to *Edgar*, coming out of *Normandy*, where he had been long protected, found an eaſie acceſſion to the Crown, by the general Concurrence, both of Nobles and People, and with great Applauſe reſtored the *Saxon* Race in the year 1043.

Thus expired, not only the Dominion, but all Attempts or Invaſions of the *Danes* in *England*; which though continued and often re-

renewed, with mighty Numbers, for above two hundred years, yet left no change of Laws, Customs, Language, or Religion, nor other Traces of their Establishments here, besides the many Castles they built, and many Families they left behind them, who after the Accession of *Edward* the Confessor to the Crown, wholly submitting to his Government, and peaceably inhabiting, came to incorporate and make a part of the *English* Nation without any distinction.

*Edward* the Confessor Reigned long, reduced the Laws of *Edward*, *Alfred*, and *Edgar's* Reigns into more Form and Order, and governed by them. His Wars were successful both in *Scotland* and *Wales*, though managed by his Leaders, and without his presence. But being a Prince of a soft and easie

easy Nature, he gave way to the growing Power and Arrogance of Earl *Godwin* and his Sons, who had been the chief Instruments of advancing him to the Throne, upon the Condition of Marrying Earl *Godwin*'s Daughter. After he was settled in the Kingdom, either upon gratitude and inclination to the People and Customs of a Country where he had lived long, and been well received when he was banished from his own; he invited many of his *Norman* Friends into *England*, employ'd them in his greatest Offices either of Church or State, and upon some quarrels between them and the *English*, expresst too much partiality to the *Normans*: This gave *Godwin* and his Son *Harold*, occasion or pretence of raising and heading great Discontents of the *English* against

the *Norman* Favourites, and at laſt Inſurrections againſt the King; who ſoft in his Nature, devout in his Temper, and now declined in his Age, endeavoured rather to appeaſe theſe Troubles by Articles than by Arms, and thereby left *Harold* too powerful for a Subject, and aſpiring to the Crown. *Edward* had no Children; and though he ſeemed deſirous to leave the Crown to his Nephew, yet diſtruſting his weakneſs to defend it againſt ſo powerful a Rival, it does not appear, or is not agreed among Authors, whether he made any diſpoſition of it at his Death or no, or whether any ſuch, at leaſt, as was afterwards pretended.

*Harold* alledged, that he was appointed by *Edward* the Confeſſor to ſucceed him, was believed by ſome, and allowed by more, who fol-

followed his Power rather than his Right, and was immediately after the King's Death, elected or admitted to the Crown.

His first trouble was from his own Brother, who being the Elder, had obtain'd assistance from *Norway*, to set up a Title or Pretence to the Kingdom, though he could have no other, but that his Brother had usurped it. *Harold* having marched into the North, overthrown his Brother and his Army of Strangers or Discontents, with great slaughter at *Stamford*, was suddenly recalled by a more dangerous and fatal Storm from the South. For *William* Duke of *Normandy*, sirnamed the Conqueror, was landed at *Hastings* with a mighty Army of stout *Norman* Soldiers, to pursue a Right he pretended to the Succession of the

Crown after the Death of *Edward*. What this was, is but obſcurely proved or defended. But the pretext was, That *Edward* had by Teſtament left him Succeſſor of the Crown; and that *Harold* while he was laſt in *Normandy*, had likewiſe aſſured him of his Aſſiſtance to advance him to the Kingdom upon the Death of the King; and the Duke therefore ſent to put him in mind of that Engagement. But *Harold* was in poſſeſſion, and admitted neither of theſe Claims, reſolved to defend well what he had gotten ill, ſince the apparent Right was in *Edgar Atheling* deſcended from the true *Saxon* Race, and from a Brother of *Edward* the Confeſſor. To decide theſe Diſputes between the two powerful Pretenders (while the juſt Right lay unregarded for want of Force to ſupport

ſupport it) a fierce and bloody Battel was fought near *Haſtings*, which continued for a whole day, with great Bravery and Slaughter on both ſides; but ended with the Death of *Harold*, moſt of the braveſt Captains, and above Sixty Thouſand Soldiers of the *Engliſh* Nation, who reſolved to defend a Domeſtick Uſurper againſt a Foreign Invader; and by the loſs of their Lives made eaſy way for the undiſputed Succeſſion of *William* the Conqueror, to the Crown of *England* about the year 1066. or as ſome account, 1068.

This *Norman* Prince was Natural Son of *Robert* the Sixth Duke of *Normandy*, by *Arlette*, a very Beautiful Virgin of *Falaize*, with whom he fell in Love, as ſhe ſtood gazing at her Door, whilſt he paſſed through that Town: So that he

was the Iſſue of a ſudden and ſtrong Inclination, like a noble Plant, raiſed in a hot Bed, which gave it ſuch Force and Vigour, as made it proſper and grow to ſo great a Height: Nor is it unlikely that the ancient Heroes derived themſelves from ſome Gods, to cover the Misfortunes or Follies, the Rapes or Loves of ſome fair Maidens, or elſe the Paſſions of ſome frail Wives, who loved a Gallant better than a Husband: And the force of ſuch Encounters might have Part in the Conſtitution of a young Hero, and give a Natural Vigour, Spirit, and Luſtre to the Children, from the Flames wherein they were conceived. 'Tis certain this young Conqueror owed his Greatneſs to his Birth, and his Fortunes to his Perſonal Merit, from the ſtrength of his Temper and

and vigour of his Mind: For he had a Body of Iron, as well as a Heart of Steel; Yet his Intellectuals were at leaſt equal to his other natural Advantages; and he appears as Wiſe in his Politick Inſtitutions, as he was Bold in his Enterprizes, or Brave and Fortunate in the Atchievement of his great Adventures.

His Father *Robert* growing Old, fell into a Fit of Devotion, frequent enough in that Age; which made him reſolve upon a Viſit to the Holy Sepulchre: His Nobles uſed all Arguments they could to diſſwade him, but chiefly from the want of lawful Iſſue, and the Competition like to ariſe upon his Death, between ſeveral great Pretenders, which might prove dangerous to his Country, and perhaps fatal to the *Norman* State. But

he perſiſted in the Deſign of his Journey, and told them he had a young Son, that he believed certainly to be his own, and of whoſe Perſon and Diſpoſition he had great Hopes, and therefore reſolved to leave him his Succeſſor in the Dutchy; recommended him to their Care and Loyalty, and appointed the King of *France* to be his Guardian, and the Duke of *Britain* his Governor, who was one of the faireſt Pretenders to the Succeſſion of that Dutchy, after the failing of *Robert*'s Line; An unuſual Strain or Teſtimony of the good Faith and Meaning of that Age, where Honour was ſo much more in Requeſt than Intereſt, that ſuch a Prince could truſt a Son of reproached Birth and diſputed Right, to a powerful Neighbour, the likelieſt to Invade him,

and

and to a pretender that ſtood the faireſt to conteſt his Title.

The Prince was not above Nine or Ten Years Old, when Duke *Robert* cauſed his Nobles and Chief *Norman* Subjects, to Swear Fealty to him, and afterwards carried him to do Homage to *Henry* the Firſt, King of *France*, for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, according to the Cuſtom of the former Dukes, ſince their firſt Accords with that Crown, after their Conqueſts and Eſtabliſhments in that Part of *France*, which was before called *Neuſtry*, and took the Name of *Normandy* from thoſe fierce Invaders: Theſe coming from the Coaſts of *Norway* in two ſeveral Expeditions, with mighty Numbers of a brave, but Barbarous People, had about Two Hundred Years before, firſt ravaged the Coaſts

Coasts of *Holland* and *Flanders*, then entred the Mouth of the *Sein*, subjected the Countty by unresisted Arms; then taking the City of *Rouen*, Capital of that Province, upon Composition, and made Inroads from thence into the Isle of *France*, and near *Paris* it self, with such Fury and Success, that the King of *France* embroiled then at home, thought fit, to tame these Lyons, rather than longer to oppose them, and threw them that noble and fruitful Morsel of *Normandy*, to asswage their Hunger, yielding it up wholly to their Leader *Roul*, upon Conditions of his turning Christian, and his holding that Dutchy from the Crown of *France*, for him and his Successors.

After these Ceremonies were past of the Homages received in *Normandy*, and given in *France*; the

the old Duke *Robert*, delivered his young Son himſelf into the Hands and Tutelage of the *French* King, upon the Confidence of great Services he had formerly done him, in Diſputes about the Crown; and immediately after theſe Tranſactions, began his Voyage into *Aſia*, where he lived not long, and left his Son to be the Founder of his own Fortunes, rather than Heir of his Father's; which he found expoſed to all ſorts of Dangers from the tenderneſs of his Age, the reproach of his Birth, a ſuſpected Guardian, a diſputed Title, and a diſtracted State.

After the News of Duke *Robert's* Deceaſe, the Nobles of *Normandy* by him intruſted with the Government during his Son's Minority, found themſeves ſoon involved in many Difficulties, by the open Factions

Factions of ſome Nobles, who envied their Greatneſs; and by the private Practices of others, who being derived from ſome of the former Dukes, reſolved to ſet up their Pretences to the Succeſſion, but maſqued their Deſigns at firſt, and herded with the common Diſcontents, againſt the preſent Adminiſtration. The Governours, faithful to the Truſt repoſed in them by the Father, and the Fealty they had ſworn to the Son, eſteemed the preſence of the young Prince neceſſary to ſupport their Authority and his Title, and thereupon prevailed with the King of *France*, to ſend him into *Normandy*; which he did accordingly, with great Honour to himſelf, and Kindneſs to the young Duke, as well as Satisfaction to all his Loyal Subjects; but to the Diſappoint-

pointment of thoſe, who pretended their Diſcontents rather againſt the Governours, than the Succeſſion.

No Prince ever came ſo early into the Cares and Thorns of a Crown, nor felt them longer, engaged in Difficulties and Toils, in Hardſhips and Dangers; His Life, expoſed to the Arms of Enemies, the Plots of Aſſaſſins: His Reign embroiled by the Revolts of his Subjects, the Invaſions of his Neighbours; and his whole Life, though very long, ſpent in the neceſſary and dangerous Defence of his own Title and Dominion, or in the ambitious Deſigns of acquiring greater: Yet none ever ſurmounted all with more Conſtancy of Mind, Prudence of Conduct, and Felicity of Fortune; By all which, he ſeems born to

have been rather a great Prince, than a happy Man.

His first Contests and Dangers, arose from the declared Competition of the Pretenders to the Succession of the Dutchy, who favoured by the Defects of his Birth, and grounding their Title upon their own legitimate Descent; found so many Followers at home, and such Assistance from some neighbouring Princes, that agreeing together against the present Possessor, though disputing among themselves upon their own Rights, they raised great Forces, and constrained the young Duke to appear, not only at the Head of his Counsels, but of his Armies too, by that time he was full seventeen Years old.

These civil Wars continued long with many various Successes, bloody Encounters, defeating and recruiting

cruiting of Troops, ſurpriſing, ſacking, beſieging, relieving of Towns, and waſting of Countries, till at laſt, the Duke by his Vigilance, Prudence, Courage, and Induſtry, ſubdued totally, not only the Forces but the Hearts of all his Competitors and Enemies at home, and forced them to quit both *Normandy* and *France*, and ſeek new Fortunes, or at leaſt Protection in *Italy*, under the Banners and Service of thoſe Northern Princes, who had firſt by aſſiſting their Friends, and then purſuing their own fortunes, made themſelves Maſters of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*. So great was the Proweſs and Conduct of thoſe brave *Norman Adventurers*, that from *Truhans*, as the *French* called them, becauſe they could not ſtay at home, but left their own Country to ſeek Room in foreign and diſtant Regi-

ons,

ons, they became Poſſeſſors and Sovereigns, in leſs than two hundred Years, of one noble Dutchy in *France*, a great Kingdom in the beſt Parts of *Italy*, and a greater yet, and more renowned in the *Britiſh Iſle*, and thereby exchanged the ſavage Woods and barren Mountains of *Norway*, for three of the fruitfulleſt, faireſt, and moſt pleaſant Countries in the Weſtern Parts of *Europe*, and which had been obſerved both before and ſince, to produce the braveſt Bodies and Courages of any Provinces among their Neighbour Nations.

The Defeats and final Overthrow of Competitors at home, gave Duke *William* no long Quiet, for another appeared from abroad, more dangerous than any of the former: This was *Martel* Earl of *Anjou*, that was not only a Prince of great Poſſeſſi-

ſeſſions, but yet more formidable, by the Alliance and Aſſiſtance of the King of *France*, who jealous of the *Norman Greatneſs*, thought it both wiſe and juſt to prevent its further Growth, and abate a Neighbour's Power, before it grew too high, and perhaps out of his Reach, by the Conduct, Ambition, and Fortune of ſuch an aſpiring Prince.

To this end, and upon ſmall Pretences ( which never fail a ſtrong Invader ) he encouraged, if not ſet on foot the Earl of *Anjou's* Pretenſions to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, gave him firſt his Countenance and Aſſiſtance, to juſtifie his Claim, and purſue it by Arms, but by degrees, engaged in an open and declared War againſt the Duke; this he proſecuted with much paſſion and Violence, imploying in it not

only all the Forces he could raiſe, but his own Perſon to command them, attended by many, the chief Nobles of his Kingdom, and many great Perſons of his Allies.

Duke *William* loſt nothing of his Temper or Courage upon the Approaches of ſo great a Storm, but prepared firſt for his Defence, till fleſht with Succeſs in many Encounters, and truſting to the Bravery and Affections of his Army, though much inferior to the *French*, he brought the Quarrel to the Deciſion of two fierce Battels in two pitched Fields: The firſt ended in an entire Victory on the Duke's ſide, with the Slaughter of three Parts of his Enemies, amounting to above thirty thouſand Men: This Loſs however rather enraged than diſcouraged the King of *France*, who gave himſelf or his

Enemies

Enemies no Quiet, till he engaged the *Normans* in a ſecond Battel, with greater Forces and Rage on both ſides, but with the ſame Succeſs the former had ended. In this Field the King of *France* loſt the Flower of his Army, the greateſt part of his Nobles, and hardly eſcaped himſelf in Perſon. But that little availed this unfortunate Prince, who was ſo ſenſible of the Loſs, and as he thought, diſhonour received by ſo unequal a Match, that he had not the Heart to ſurvive it long, but died of Grief, and thereby gave an end to this War, and left Duke *William* a calm and peaceable Reign, till he diſturbed his own and his Neighbours Quiet, by new and greater Adventures. But to diſcover their Cauſes, and judge better of the Events, we muſt have recourſe to the Acci-

dents of the former Reigns, both in *England* and *Normandy*, and the great Commerce and Intelligences that were thereby grown, for many years paſt, berween theſe two Courts and Nations.

*Edward*, for his Piety, ſurnamed the Confeſſor, the laſt King of the *Saxon* Race in *England*, had by the Perſecution of his Enemies under the Reign of *Harde-Cnute* the *Dane*, been forced to leave *England*, and ſeek ſhelter in *Normandy*, where he was kindly received, nobly entertained by the Duke, lived long there with many *Engliſh*; who adhered to his Right, followed his Fortunes, and ſhared in the Cauſes and Reliefs of his Baniſhment; ſome found Imployments, others Alliances, All, favour and kind reception in *Normandy*. Theſe mutual good Offices, produced ſo much

much kindneſs between the Givers and Receivers, that 'tis by ſome Writers reported, King *Edward* during his Reſidence in the *Norman* Court, promiſed Duke *Robert*, that in caſe he recovered the Kingdom of *England*, and died without Iſſue, He would leave him the Crown. The firſt happening, and *Edward* reſtored by the Power of Earl *Godwin*, or rather the general Diſcontents of the *Engliſh* againſt the *Daniſh* Race and Government; 'Tis certain, King *Edward* after his Reſtoration, or rather firſt Acceſſion to the Crown, ever appeared more favourable and partial to the *Normans*, than was well reſented by his *Engliſh* Subjects in general; but Earl *Godwin* and his Son *Harold* were ſo offended, that they made it the Cauſe or Pretence of a dangerous Inſurrection, and were

forced upon the ill Succeſs thereof, to leave the Kingdom, and fly into *Flanders*, though after reſtored and received by the King, rather by Force than any free and willing Conſent.

Duke *William* after the end of his Wars with *France*, had turned his Thoughts to the common Arts and Entertainments of Peace, regulating the Abuſes of his State, and the Diſorders introduced by a long Courſe of Wars and Violence, adorning his Palaces and Houſes of Pleaſure, building Churches and Abbies, and endowing them with great Bounty and Piety: After which he made a Journy into *England*, where he was received and entertained by King *Edward*, with the ſame Kindneſs himſelf had found in the *Norman* Court; for which, like a good Prince, he was much

much pleaſed to make this Return of Gratitude as well as Juſtice. In this Viſit, 'tis ſaid by ſome Authors, that the Duke gained ſo far upon the Eſteem and Kindneſs of the King, that he then renewed to the Son in *England*, the promiſe he had formerly made the Father in *Normandy*, of leaving him the Crown by Teſtament, in caſe he died without Iſſue.

Some time after the Duke's return, *Harold* Son to Earl *Godwin*, and Heir of his great Poſſeſſions and Dependances in *England*, was forced by a Storm (as he at leaſt pretended) upon the Coaſts of *Normandy*; and to refreſh himſelf after the Toils and Dangers of his Sea-Voyage, went firſt to the *Norman* Court, and after ſome ſtay there, to that of *France*; and was in both entertained like a Perſon,

known to be of ſo great Conſideration and Power in *England*. But his laſt Viſit at *Paris* was thought deſigned only to cover the true Intention of his firſt in *Normandy*; Where he engaged to aſſiſt that Duke with all his Friends and Force in his Claim to the Crown of *England* upon King *Edward's* Death; which happening not long after, *William* claimed the Crown by virtue of a Teſtament from that King, and of an Engagement from *Harold*: But he on the contrary, denied any ſuch Teſtament from the deceaſed Prince, alledged an Appointment made by him at his Death for *Harold* to ſucceed him, diſowned any promiſe made in Favour of the Duke, and making the beſt uſe of the Credit and Authority gained by his Father and himſelf, in a craſie and diſeaſed State, during

during the ſoft Reign of a weak though pious King; *Harold* ſet up boldly for himſelf, without any reſpect of Right, beyond the Peoples ſubmiſſion (interpreted for their Conſent) and was Elected King, by thoſe Nobles and Commons of his Friends, or indifferent Perſons, who aſſembled at his Coronation, leaving to *Edgar Atheling* an undoubted, but yet unregarded Right of ſucceſſion; and to *William*, a diſputed Plea, from the alledged Teſtament of the deceaſed King.

The Duke, fond of thoſe ambitious Hopes he had framed early, and nouriſhed long and ſpighted at the perfidious dealing of *Harold* towards him, and his Inſolence towards the *Engliſh* Nation, in ſeiſing the Crown and Government, againſt all Juſtice, or ſo much as Pretence of Right (which is commonly

monly made uſe of to cover the moſt lawleſs Actions) aſſembles his Eſtates of *Normandy*, expoſes to them his Claim to *England*, the Wrong done him by *Harold*, his Reſolutions of proſecuting both with his utmoſt Power: The Glory as well as Juſtice of the Enterpriſe; The hopes of Succeſs from his own Right, and the hatred in *England* of the Uſurper, as well as the Friends and Intelligences he had in that Kingdom; The greatneſs of Spoils and Poſſeſſions, by the Conqueſt of his Enemies, and the Share he intended his Friends and Followers, according to each Man's Merit, and Contribution towards the Advancement of his Deſigns.

Though the generality of the *Normans* in this Aſſembly, were not at firſt very much moved by theſe

theſe Diſcourſes, as either doubting the Right or Succeſs of ſo hazardous an Adventure; yet they could not diſcourage what they were unwilling to promote, ſince they found the Prince had it ſo much at Heart; who prevailed with ſeveral of the greateſt Biſhops and Nobles of *Normandy*, to make him a voluntary Offer of what Moneys, Men, and Ships they would each of them furniſh towards this Enterpriſe, as well as of their own Perſonal Attendance upon him, in ſo noble and juſt a Deſign.

This free and magnanimous Offer of the greateſt among them, in ſome Degree ſpirited not only the reſt of the Aſſembly, but had much Influence upon the People in general, who grew Confident of the Succeſs from the Greatneſs

and

and Boldneſs of the Undertakers, ſo as they fell into Emulation, who ſhould Engage ſooneſt, and Contribute furtheſt upon this Occaſion.

The Duke, aſſiſted to his Expectation by his Subjects, began to practice upon the hopes and Ambition of his Neighbours, who weary of the long Quiet they had lived in at home, ſince the Part they had taken in the *French* and *Norman* Wars, begun to grow fond of ſome new Action, and to look out for new Adventures.

The Duke had gained and deſerved ſo high Eſteem and general Reputation by the wiſe Conduct of his Government, both in Peace and in War, by his Juſtice and Bounty, his Valour and his Clemency, that he was renowned, not only among his Subjects and his Neighbours, but in the remoter

Re-

Regions of *Germany* and *Italy*; and found a Concurrence in this Deſign, from many Princes his Friends, and ſome who had been his greateſt Enemies; He was favoured and aſſiſted with Money or with Soldiers, by the Dukes of *Britain* and of *Brabant*, the Counts of *Bologne* and *Flanders*, and his ancient Competitor the Earl of *Anjou*: By many Princes of *France*, the moſt conſidered in that Court, as the Duke of *Orleans*, Earls of *Poitou* and *Maine*, excited by the Honour of the Enterpriſe, or Fame of the Leader, at a time when the Infancy of their King gave them no hopes of Action at home, and left that Crown unconcerned in what paſſed abroad. The Emperour ſent ſome choice Troops, and experienced Commanders to ſerve in this Expedition; and the Pope, in-

induced by the Fame of this Duke's great Virtues, and Piety in the whole Courſe of his Reign, which had now laſted above Forty Years, ſent him a Banner he had bleſſed with ſeveral Reliques; and thereby was eſteemed, according to the Devotion of thoſe Times, to have juſtified his Title, and even ſanctified his Arms.

With all theſe Advantages this brave Duke began and finiſhed his mighty Preparations, by a general Concurrence of his own Nobles and Subjects, and a Confluence of moſt of the bold adventurous Spirits in his Neighbour Provinces, led by the deſires of Glory or of Gains; The Princes, truſted his Faith and his promiſes which he had never forfeited: The Knights and Soldiers, relyed upon his Valour and his Fortune, which had never

never failed in the long and happy courſe of his Reign.

What the Number was of the Army he brought over into *England*, is not diſtinctly related, or well agreed; but muſt be concluded to have been very great, by that of the Ships wherein they were imbarqued, which were between Eight and Nine Hundred: Beſides, they were all choſen and brave Troops, excellently diſciplined, Commanded by gallant Officers, ſtrongly united by the Love of their Prince, and encouraged by the common hatred of *Harold* his Enemy, both at home and abroad: A known Uſurper, cruel in his Nature, of *Daniſh* Extraction, and thereby ungrateful to the *Engliſh*; a Hater of his own Blood, and who had never triumphed but over his own Brother;

and

and by a bloody Victory at *Stamford*, had loſt the braveſt of his Troops, as he had done before the Hearts of his Subjects.

The Duke Landed his Army at *Haſtings* in *Suſſex*, about the beginning of *October*; and expecting a general Submiſſion of the *Engliſh* to his Right and Title (pretended from the Teſtament of *Edward* the Confeſſor) or the Deſertion of *Harold* (as an Uſurper) by his own Army; He made at firſt no ſhow of invading a Hoſtile Countrey, but rather of encamping in his own. Forbidding all injuries to any of the Inhabitants; and all Spoil of the Countrey about him: And ſo continued with his whole Army, in a quiet and peaceable manner for about a Fortnight, either to refreſh his Troops, or to expect how his Claim to the Crown,

Crown, and Arrival upon it, would be received in *England*.

But after this Time expired, he was ſoon rouz'd by the Approach of *Harold*, who returned from the Defeat of his Brother, and his *Daniſh Aſſiſtants*, with all the Forces he had employed in that Expedition, and all he could invite or collect out of the Country as he paſſed. The firſt were ſtanding Troops, Numerous and Brave, which he kept for the defence of his Perſon and Title, knowing they were both generally hated in *England*. The laſt were ill diſciplined, and worſe affected, and ſerved only to increaſe the number of his Army, which was very great.

Upon approach of his Enemies he ſent Spies into the *Norman* Camp, who were taken, and courteouſly

teouſly uſed by the Duke; carried through all his Troops, ſhowed their Diſcipline and Diſpoſal, and ſent back with Rewards. At their return they told *Harold*, that the *Normans* looked rather like an Army of Prieſts than of Soldiers, by their great Silence and Order in their Camp, as well as by their Faces being all ſhaved.

'Tis ſaid the Duke before the Battel, ſent an Offer to *Harold*, to decide the Quarrel between them by ſingle Combat, and thereby ſpare their Subjects Blood: Which *Harold* refuſed, and ſaid he would leave it to God to determine. Upon which, his Brother deſired him, that he would not be preſent at the Battel, becauſe he had formerly Sworn to Duke *William* to aſſiſt his Title upon King *Edward's* Death; and rather leave it to them,

who

who had a juſter Cauſe; and ſhould Fight only for Defence of their Country, and without Breach of Oath. But the Courage of *Harold* was more than his Conſcience, and ſo both parts diſpoſed their Armies for a pitched Battel next Morning: After the *Engliſh* had paſſed the Night in Songs and Feaſting, and the *Normans* in much Devotion.

The Fight began with great Fury, and equal Bravery as well as Order on both ſides. The *Engliſh* were cruelly gauled by thick Showers of Arrows from the *Norman long Bows*, before the Battel joyned; which was a Weapon then unuſed in *England*, and thereby the more ſurpriſing, by Wounds coming from Enemies ſo far out of reach, and not ſuddenly to be revenged. But when they came up to cloſe Fight, the *Normans* were hewed down by

the *Engliſh Bills*, which of all Weapons gives the moſt ghaſtly and deplorable Wounds. Beſides, their Points were ſo ſtrong and ſo cloſe together that no Charges of the *Norman Horſe* could break the *Engliſh Ranks*, though the Duke aſſaulted them ſo often, and with ſo great Bravery, that he had three Horſes killed under him in the Attempt. But finding them continue firm, He at length by a Signal, cauſed a ſudden Flight to be feigned by his *Normans* that were moſt advanced: Upon which, the *Engliſh* eaſily deceived by their own Courage as well as Hopes, began ſuch an eager Purſuit, as by it they diſſolved their Ranks that had been otherwiſe impenetrable. Upon this Incident, before expected, and ſoon diſcovered by the Duke, and upon another Signal given, the *Normans* re-

returned with greater Fury than before; broke into the disordered Body of the *English*; routed and pursued them to a rising Ground, where their broken Forces made a Stand, fell again into Order, and encouraged by the Speeches, but more by the brave Example of *Harold*, they renewed the Fight, and made a mighty Slaughter of the *Normans*, as they endeavoured to force them against the disadvantage of the Hill which they defended.

The Fierceness and Obstinacy of this memorable Battel, was often renewed by the Courage of the Leaders; where-ever that of the Souldiers began to faint; till the *Normans* leaving the Assault of the Hill, too obstinately defended, and keeping a little distance, fell again to their Arrows, with one of which, *Harold* was shot quite

through the Head, and fell to the Ground: And by his Death gave the Victory and the Field to the *Normans*, which had hitherto continued doubtful on both ſides; and ſeemed thus far to have been Fought with equal Courage and with equal Loſs. But the Flight of the *Engliſh* upon *Harold*'s Fall, ſoon determined it, and was followed by a long and bloody purſuit of the *Normans*, which continued till Night; and left mighty Numbers of the *Engliſh* ſlain in their Flight, that had been ſafe in the Battel; and the reſt of them wholly diſperſed, though coverd by the Night: So different are the effects of Courage and of Fear, and ſo Juſt the Rewards of both; the firſt, which ſeeks dangers, often avoids them; the other, often runs into them, by endeavouring to

eſcape

eſcape them: Much greater numbers falling in all Battels, by the purſuit of thoſe that fly, than by the Slaughter of thoſe that Fight.

Nothing ſeems to ſhow the greatneſs of *England*, ſo much at this time, as that *Harold* ſhould be able to aſſemble ſo mighty an Army, to oppoſe this Invaſion: And find above Threeſcore Thouſand Men, Brave enough, not only to Fight, but to loſe their Lives in his defence: For ſo many are agreed to have been ſlain of the *Engliſh* at this Battel of *Haſtings*; where he loſt his Crown and his Life together, and left the Field with the Kingdom, to this brave *Norman* Conquerour. This was the Man, Theſe the Forces, and ſuch the Circumſtances that contributed to ſo famous an Enterpriſe, by which the Fate of *England*

was determined, in or about the Year 1066.

The Duke after this famous Victory, resolved not to lose the Fruits and Advantages he had thereby gained, (which is often done) for want of Speed or Vigour in the Prosecution, wherein Celerity is sometimes of more Consequence than Force. Therefore, after the Pursuit of his broken Enemies, and a short Refreshment of his own Army; He began immediately his March towards *London*, where was all the strength then left in the Kingdom, believing if he could be Master of the Head, the rest of the Body would follow, without more Struggle or Resistance.

In his March, he is said to have exercised much Cruelty, towards all he found in Arms, with great Rigour and Oppression upon the other

other Inhabitants, and Spoil of the Countries where he paſſed, till entring into a Woody Part of *Kent*, and advancing with his Vanguad before the reſt of his Army; he found himſelf almoſt environed with mighty Numbers of the *Kentiſh Men*, who had concealed themſelves in the Wood by carrying every Man a great Bough of a Tree, like a Shield in his Hand. But when they ſaw the *Norman Troops*, and the Duke at the Head of them, within their Danger, they began on a ſudden to march like a moving Wood, till approaching their Enemies, they threw down their Boughs, and diſcovered on all Sides a Multitude of brave armed Men, ready to charge the *Normans* that ſtood ſurpriſed and amazed at the Strangeneſs of the Sight, which appeared as if a Wood had been, by

ſome

ſome Enchantment, transformed into an Army: But the *Kentiſh Men* approaching, made a Halt, and ſent the Abbot of *St. Auſtins*, to tell the Duke, that all the Men of that Province were there aſſembled to defend their Country and their Liberties, or to ſell their lives as dear as they could; that if he would ſwear to preſerve them in thoſe ancient Laws and Cuſtoms, under which they and their Anceſtors had ſo long lived; they were all ready to lay down their Arms, and become his Subjects; if not, he muſt prepare to fight with Men that had reſolved to loſe their Lives rather than their Liberties and Laws. The Duke finding he was too far advanced to joyn the Body of his Army before he engaged, and unwilling to venture all his Fortunes and Hopes againſt ſuch

ſuch numerous Bands as theſe appeared, and of ſo deſperate Men, granted to all the Inhabitants of the Province of *Kent*, the Preſervation and free Enjoyment of all their ancient Laws and Cuſtoms under the *Saxon Reigns*; ſwore the Obſervance of his Grant, received their Homage, and ſo purſued his March. This is repreſented as a forc'd Prelude to a ſubſequent voluntary Act of this Prince, whereby he made or confirmed the ſame Conceſſion, in general, to all the reſt of the Kingdom. And though this Adventure of the *Kentiſh Men* be not recorded with great Evidence of Truth or agreement of Circumſtances or of Time (for ſome Writers place it before his firſt Arrival at *London*, others after, and upon an Expedition to reduce the Caſtle of *Dover*) yet it is related by ſo many

ny Authors, and is ſo generally received by vulgar Tradition, that it ſeems not to be omitted: But when, or however it happened, or whether at all or no, is not material to the Hiſtory of this Prince, or to the following Actions or Inſtitutions of his Reign.

In the City of *London*, beſides the great Numbers and Riches of the Inhabitants, were retired moſt of the great Nobles of the Kingdom, both Eccleſiaſtical and Secular, who had not been engaged in Action of either Side, and attended, what would be the Iſſue of this ſtrong and violent Convulſion of the State. Upon Deciſion of the laſt Battel, they all conſulted together with the Citizens, what was beſt to be adviſed and done for their common Intereſt and Safety, as well as of the whole Kingdom,

which

which was like to run their Fate, by following their Example: Many of the ſecular Nobles were for collecting what Forces they could, and making a ſtand, either in the Field or in the Town, and thereby trying their Fortunes, or at the worſt making Conditions, for they could not bear, that their great Poſſeſſions and Lands ſhould lie at the Mercy of a Prince, whoſe Will might be as boundleſs as his Power, and who had ſo great a Train, to be rewarded at their Coſt, and by the Spoils, if he pleaſed, of the whole Kingdom.

The *Citizens* feared the hoſtile Entrance of an incenſed Army, upon a weak Reſiſtance, and the ſudden Loſs of their Poſſeſſions, which conſiſting chiefly in Moveables, might be ſeized in a Day, and diſſipated, paſt any Recovery by the

the very Grace of the Prince, or ſucceeding Compoſition between him and the reſt of the Kingdom: They thought no Forces could be collected, either in Time upon ſo ſudden an Approach, or with Strength enough to make Oppoſition in a Body that had loſt ſo much Blood, and without a Head to command them, or upon any Treaty to manage their common Intereſts to the beſt Advantage, and ſo they were diſpoſed to ſubmit to what they eſteemed the Fate of the Kingdom: The Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and the reſt of the Clergy were a ſort of State apart, within the State it ſelf, having a Juriſdiction independent (as they pretended, and were uſually allowed in that Age) upon the ſecular Power; they held their Lands and Poſſeſſions in the Kingdom, by another

ther Tenure than the Laiety pretended, and feared not to loſe them under any Prince that was a Chriſtian, which made them more indifferent of what Race, or by what Title he held the Crown, and ſo more eaſie to fall in with the Stream of any Changes or new Revolutions: Beſides, they were poſſeſs'd with the Fame of this Prince's Piety, and the Opinion of his Right having been determined by the Pope's approving and aſſiſting it with his Benediction: They thought, as well as the Citizens, that this Torrent was not to be reſiſted, that a faint and fruitleſs Oppoſition would but exaſperate the Duke, and make him continue as well as begin his Reign, like a Conqueror, and therefore eſteemed the wiſeſt Part was to acknowledge his Right, and thereby tempt

or perſwade him into a ſafer and eaſier Form of Government, both for himſelf and his Subjects, as a juſt and lawful King.

The Clergy was in very great Authority at this Time, and among all ſorts of People in the Kingdom, having enjoyed and exerciſed it here, during the whole Courſe of the *Saxon* Reigns after thoſe Kings became Chriſtians in this Iſland; nor could any other Authority riſe ſo high, and ſpread ſo far, as growing from ſo many Roots: They were allowed to be the Guides and Inſtructors of Mankind in all ſpiritual Worſhip and Divine Service, and even the Diſpencers of thoſe Graces and Forfeitures upon which depended the Rewards or Puniſhments of a future State; which being greater and longer than thoſe of this Life,

gave

gave them more Influence upon the Minds of Men, than any ſecular Juriſdiction that can extend no further: They had mighty Poſſeſſions in Lands, throughout the Kingdom, as well as other Riches, from the Bounty of pious Princes, of devout and innocent People, and from many others, who thought to expiate Crimes, or cover ill Lives by theſe kinds of Donation to the Church. Theſe Poſſeſſions were eſteemed ſacred, and, as much went into this Stock every Age, ſo nothing ever went out; and all the Lands in the Kingdom might in the Courſe of Ages, have held of the Church; if this Current had not been ſtopped by the Statute of *Mortmain* in the Time of *Edward* the firſt. 'Tis recorded, that of ſixty two thouſand Knights Fees that were reckoned in *England* du-

ring the Reign of this first *Norman King*, there were in that of King *John* twenty eight thousand in the Hands of the Church. This gave the Clergy (by the Dependances of those that held under them in so great Numbers) a secular Power annexed to their Ecclesiastical Authority: They had besides, all the little Learning which was in those ignorant Ages, and passes for Wisdom among those who want both, gives a Faculty, at least of discoursing, though perhaps not of judging better than others, and gains more Attention, and easier Applause from vulgar Auditors: Lastly, they were united more than any other State upon one common Bottom, and in pursuit of one common Interest, which was always pretended to be the Greatness of the holy Church, but indeed was their own,

own, and the Honours, Power, and Riches of the Church-men, rather than of the Church. By theſe Circumſtances, and the Advantage of ſuch a complicated Strength, the Clergy came to ſuch an Authority, that they were Arbiters, if not of all Affairs, at leaſt of all Conteſts in the Kingdom, and turned the Ballance which way ſoever they fell in, were ſtill applied to by the weaker, and often by the unjuſter Side; had the chief Sway, and were the chiefeſt Inſtruments in all thoſe many Revolutions of State, irregular Succeſſions, and even Uſurpations of the Crown that happened between the Time of the Conqueſt, and the Reign of *Henry* the third; which may eaſily be obſerved and cannot eaſily be wondered at by all who read the Story of thoſe Reigns, and conſider what has been ſaid up-

on this Subject, important enough to excuſe this Digreſſion.

But to return to our Conqueror, upon his March to *London*, and the Conſultations there how to receive him. The Opinions and Counſels of the Biſhops and Eccleſiaſticks eaſily prevailed, and ſeem to have had more Reaſon, as well as Authority, than the reſt: So it was unanimouſly reſolved, not only to ſubmit to a Power they could not oppoſe, but to acknowledg a Title they would not diſpute. The Duke, upon his Approach to the City, was received with open Gates and open Arms, at leaſt without the Appearance of any Reluctance or Diſcontent, any more than of Reſiſtance: He claimed the Crown at his Arrival, by the Teſtament of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, without any mention

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of Conqueſt, which was infinitely grateful to all the Nobles and Commons of the Realm, whether it was a Strain of his own Prudence and good natural Senſe, or a Perſwaſion of thoſe *Engliſh*, who had either aſſiſted or invited his Invaſion, or Apprehenſion of ſo great and brave a People, if offended by the Name of Conqueſt, and irritated by the Dangers or Fears of a lawleſs Arbitrary Power, to which they had not yet their Hearts or Strength broken enough, eaſily to ſubmit.

He was crowned King at *Weſtminſter* by the Arch-biſhop of *York*, who with *Stigand* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, had been the great Promoters of thoſe Councils, by which he entred upon ſo peaceable a Beginning of his Reign. At his Coronation he took the Oath, uſual

in the Times, both of the *Saxon* and *Daniſh Kings*, which was, To protect and defend the Church, to obſerve the Laws of the Realm, and to govern his People juſtly: After which he cauſed Fealty to be ſworn to him by all the Biſhops, Barons, and Nobles, with the Magiſtrates of the City, who had aſſiſted or attended at his Coronation, and thereupon found himſelf on a ſudden ſettled in a calm and quiet Poſſeſſion of a Crown he had ſo long aſpired to, and ſo lately won by one ſingle, though violent Blow.

This King was about two and Fifty Years old upon his Acceſſion to this Crown, and is perhaps the only Inſtance found in Story, either before or ſince, in this Iſland or the reſt of the World, that began and atchieved any great and famous Enterpriſe after that Age: Whe-

Whether the Decline of Nature leaves not Vigor enough for ſuch Deſigns or Actions; or Fortune, like her Sex, have no Kindneſs left for old Men, how much ſoever ſhe favoured them when they were young: But the Talents of Age, which are Prudence and Moderation, learnt beſt in the School of Experience, and ſeldom joyned if conſiſtent with the warm Paſſions of Youth, were now as neceſſary to this Prince, for the Conſervation of his Kingdom, as his long induſtrious Application and bold Execution had been for acquiring it; and how much he excelled in theſe Qualities will be ſeen by the Sequel of his Reign.

He conſidered very wiſely, that though he had gained the Crown by the Aſſiſtance of Foreign Forces, and by the Deciſion of Arms,

yet these might not always be so prosperous, if too often tried, and the Number or Strength of his Foreigners bore no Proportion to those of so brave and populous a Nation, if they should unite on any Bottom of common Discontents, of Dangers, or of Fears, and that the Safety and Peace of his new acquired Dominion could be preserved only by the general Satisfaction and Security of his *English Subjects*: And this was his first Care, and was the best provided for by the two first Actions of his Reign; one was, That as he had claimed the Crown, only from the Testament of King *Edward*, and wholly avoided that odious Name of Conquest, so he expressed upon all Occasions, his Resolution to govern the Kingdom as a legal Prince, and leave the ancient Laws and Liber-

ties

ties of the *Engliſh Nation*, as they had before enjoyed them: The other was, that as he drew no Blood but what was ſpilt in the Field, ſo he ſeiſed only the Lands and Eſtates of thoſe who had been in Arms againſt him, before his Acceſſion to the Crown or after that Time, by any Revolt or new Oppoſitions.

This wiſe Counſel made a clear and ſudden Diſtinction between thoſe *Engliſh* that were to feel any ill Effects by this late Revolution, and the reſt who were left out of Danger, and in the ſame State they enjoyed under the Race of their former lawful Kings, and ſo but little ſenſible of the Change: The forfeited Eſtates and Lands were indeed ſeized with great Severity, but the greateſt Part of the Proprietors were ſilent in the Grave, ha-

having been ſlain in the Battel of *Haſtings*, and Purſuit of that Victory; thoſe who remained alive, being at once deſpoiled of all their Poſſeſſions, were broken in their Hearts, maimed in their Intereſt among their Neighbours, and being but few throughout the Kingdom, in Compariſon of thoſe that were ſafe, their Loſſes or Complaints were little regarded by the reſt, but like wounded Deer, were deſerted, and even avoided by the Herd.

Upon the Coronation of the King at *London*, with the Concurrence of Nobles and People in that City, and his Care in publiſhing throughout the ſeveral Countries, theſe two Reſolutions concerning the Safety of their Properties and Laws: All the Inhabitants of both the adjacent and remoter Counties, and of what Degree ſoever, not only

ly with univerſal Conſent, ſubmitted to his Government as to a Decree of Heaven, but moſt of them began to expreſs, or at leaſt pretend a common Joy at the Fate of the late Uſurper, and the proſperous Fortunes of the preſent King.

His next Care was the Satisfaction of thoſe many and brave Adventurers and Soldiers who had followed him in this Expedition, which he endeavonred to make with Juſtice to his Promiſes, and to their ſeveral Merits, as far as the forfeited Lands and Revenues would reach, or any Treaſures or Debts he found here belonging to the Crown: The Lands of the *Engliſh Barons* who had oppoſed him, he divided among the *Norman Barons* that had attended him; thoſe of the Commoners among the Soldiers; what Offices were vacant,

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he ſupplied with ſuch as he had not Lands or Money to reward; ſuch of the *Normans* as he could not clear Accounts with at preſent by any of theſe Ways, he diſtributed into the rich and numerous Abbeys of the Kingdom, to be there entertained till new Employments ſhould fall, or new Forfeitures or new Supplies ſhould come into the King's Coffers by the large Revenues of the Crown, or the wiſe Management of his Treaſures, which had always been a Virtue of this Prince, and exerciſed in his lower Fortunes, as far as could agree with the Bounty of his Nature, towards thoſe who deſerved it by their Merits or their Services.

The Proviſion he made for ſo many poor *Normans*, by diſpoſing them among the rich Monaſteries to ſhare in their Plenty, ſeemed at leaſt

leaſt a temporary Impoſition upon the Clergy, and a Breach of thoſe Immunities they had enjoyed in the *Saxon Reign*: For though one chief End of the large Donations made by ſo many Princes and pious Subjects to the Church, was intended for charitable Uſes, by Relief of the Poor, and the hoſpitable Entertainment of Paſſengers, Pilgrims, and Strangers, yet this Uſe was left voluntary, and at the Choice of thoſe who poſſeſſed theſe Revenues: The *Normans* ſent among them were indeed Strangers and Poor, but yet the moſt charitable Monks had little Mind to relieve them, or if they had, were not willing to receive them within their Convents, to be, not only Sharers of their Proviſions, but Obſervers of their Actions; however, they complied at preſent with the

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Deſires of the King, or the Neceſſity of the Times, yet they generally took it ill of the King, and for a Diminution of thoſe Immunities, or of that Favour they had enjoyed under former Reigns: Some thought he had an envious Eye at the vaſt Riches of the Clergy; others, that he was jealous of their Power, and ſuſpected their Affections to his Perſon and Government, and apprehended as eaſie a Change among them, upon the Approach of any new Revolution as they had ſhewed upon the laſt, in his own Favour. That for theſe Reaſons he had diſperſed his *Normans* as ſo many Guards, or at leaſt as ſo many Spies among them: Whatever it was, 'tis certain this Action bred the firſt Unkindneſs of the Clergy towards this King, and being followed by two other

other Strains of the ſame Nature ( which will be obſerved in their Time ) left an Impoſition upon his Memory, of Hardſhip, Cruelty, Oppreſſion, or Exaction, which he deſerved as little as other Princes, that have a fairer Character in Story and common Opinion. For the Monks having been the only Writers remaining of thoſe Times, as well as ſome ſucceeding Reigns, have left a Tincture of their Paſſions upon the Actions of the firſt Kings of this *Norman Race*, and painted their Virtues and Vices in fairer or fouler Colours, according to the Ideas they had framed of them and their ſeveral Diſpoſitions or Actions in Favour or Prejudice of the Church, that is, of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons or Privileges: Such an Authority have the Pens of learned Writers, always claim-

claimed and poſſeſſed, as to paſs the definitive Sentence upon the Memories of the greateſt Princes in the vulgar Opinion of Poſterity. Nor is it evident whether the invidious Name of Conqueror which this King had ſo carefully avoided, were entailed upon him by the Flattery of his Friends or the Malice of his Enemies, among whom, the Monkiſh Writers ſeem to have been the chief and moſt inveterate.

Whatever Motions were raiſed upon this Occaſion in the Minds of the Clergy, none appeared in the reſt of the Body of the Realm, or Maſs of the People, moſt were ſatisfied becauſe they either liked their new King, or hated the laſt Uſurper; ſome were indifferent to both, while their Eſtates and Liberties were out of Danger, and

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ſuch who were diſpleaſed with either, diſguiſed their Reſentment, or were not taken notice of in the Crowd. All conſpired to make ſo great a Calm ſucceed in the Kingdom, as is uſual after a great Storm is over, that the King having paſſed ſome Months here in the Cares and for the Settlement of his new Dominions in *England*, made a Journy to viſit his old in *Normandy* about the beginning of the Summer, having been crowned at *Weſtminſter* on *Chriſtmas-Day*.

Whether this was undertaken upon any Neceſſity of his Affairs on that ſide, or to ſettle them ſo as not to interrupt him here, where he intended to reſide, is not known; or whether he took a Pleaſure and a Pride to ſhow both his Subjects and his Neighbour Princes, how ſecure he eſteemed himſelf in his

new acquired Dominions; but it looks like a Strain of his usual Boldness and fearless Temper, and succeeded well, like the rest of his Counsels and Resolutions; yet was not this Journy undertaken without Prudence and Caution, in the Choice of those Hands with whom he left the Government in his Absence, and of those Persons he engaged to accompany him in the Voyage. He committed the Rule of the Kingdom to his Brother *Odon* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and to *Fitz Aubar* his near Kinsman, whom he had lately made Earl of *Hereford*. He took with him into *Normandy*, *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who though a great Instrument in his easie and peaceable Admission to the Crown, yet had been discontented at his Coronation, which had been performed by the Archbishop

biſhop of *York*, upon Pretence of ſome Fault or Queſtion about the other's Inveſtiture; with him he took ſeveral other Biſhops, the Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar*, two Perſons of great Power and Dependances, with many other *Engliſh Noblemen*, of whoſe Faith or Affections he was the leaſt confident; and beſides theſe, he took with him a greater and much more conſiderable Hoſtage for the Quiet of *England*, though under Colour of honouring him, or being honoured by his Company; This was *Edgar*, ſurnamed *Atheling*, Nephew to *Edward* the Confeſſor, and deſigned by him for Succeſſor, as was divulged among thoſe of his Subjects, that neither favoured the Right or Pretenſions of *Harold*, or the *Norman Duke*. He had many Diſadvantages to ballance and

weigh down his Right which was undiſputed, as his foreign Birth and Breeding, which was in *Hungary* during his Father's Exile under the Reign of *Hardy-Cnute*; The Perſecution and Hatred of his Grandmother *Emma*, a Woman celebrated in her Time, for the Suſpicion and clearing of her Chaſtity by the *Saxon Trial* of Fire Ordeal, but who having married *Hardy-Cnute* after the Death of her firſt Huſband, had ever after more Inclination to the *Daniſh* than the *Saxon Race*: Beſides, *Edgar*, though of ſo good and virtuous Diſpoſitions as made him be ſtiled *England's Darling*, yet they were ſuch as ſeemed to become an excellent private Perſon rather than a Prince, or at leaſt to have adorned an eaſie and peaceful Poſſeſſion of a Crown, rather than to force his Way to a legal

legal Right through the Difficulties and Oppoſition of two powerful Pretenders. However, an undiſputed Right (which they ſay never dies ) had left him ſo many Friends in the Kingdom, that the King thought it not ſafe to leave him behind, upon his going into *Normandy*, nor wiſe to tempt either him or his new *Engliſh Subjects* with ſuch an Opportunity of raiſing any Commotions upon ſo fair a Pretence.

Beſides theſe Cautions, he took with him moſt of his *French Adventurers* into *Normandy*, finding they were not very agreeable here, either to the *Engliſh* or to the *Normans*, and pretending he was not able to clear his Accounts with all that aſſiſted him, out of the Revenues or Forfeitures here, and that he would find out Ways of ſatisfy-

ing them, either in *Normandy*, or by his Credit and Recommendations to other Princes, where his own Bounty or Abilities could not reach.

During his Stay in *Normandy*, which was no leſs than the whole Summer, his new Government in *England* continued quiet and peaceable, though one *Erick*, called the Foreſter, endeavoured to diſturb it by calling in ſome looſe Forces of the *Welſh*, his Neighbours, into *Herefordſhire*; but he was ſoon ſuppreſſed, and they eaſily forced back into their own Mountains by the Vigilance of the Governours, and the Vigour of thoſe Forces he had left here, diſpoſed with ſuch Order, into the ſeveral Countries, as to give Way or Time to no growing Dangers that ſhould ariſe in any one Corner or from any

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ſingle Diſcontent, while the general Humour of the People was calm, and either ſatisfied with the Change, or at a Gaze how this new World was like to end. So that the King, after having ſettled his Affairs in *Normandy* to his Mind, returned before Winter to enjoy the Fruits of ſo many Dangers and Toils as his Life had been engaged in, reſolving to ſpend the remainder of it in *England*, as the nobler Scene and greater Dominion, and to cultivate with Care, an Acquiſition, he had gained himſelf with much Hazard and Pains, and with greater Glory.

The King at his Return into *England*, finding his new Dominion had continued calm and peaceable under the Authority of his Brother and Council, had Reaſon to believe it would be eaſily pre-

ſerved ſo, under his own. For, as the Abſence of an ill Prince ſeldom fails of raiſing Diſquiets and Commotions among the People in a Government which is obeyed only from Fear; ſo nothing contributes more to the Satisfaction and Obedience of Subjects, than the Preſence of a good King, and this is the Reaſon why all diſtant Provinces, governed by Commiſſions or ſubordinate Authorities are ſo ſubject to frequent Seditions and Revolts, how lawfully ſoever they are inherited, or how well ſoever they are eſtabliſhed after any new Conqueſt or Acquiſition; the Force and Influence of Authority growing ſtill weaker by the Change of Hands and Diſtance of Place: This diſpoſed the new King to the Reſolution he took at this time, of making *England* the Seat

Seat of his Perſon, as well as Empire, and governing *Normandy* by his Lieutenants, thereby forcing the common Affections of Birth, or Education and Cuſtom, to yield and comply with Reaſons of State, and preferring a foreign to his natural Soil, though perhaps ſeated in a better Climate, and at that time more adorned and civilized by the Commerce of *France*, and other Countries upon the Continent.

With this Reſolution, and in this Security, he applied himſelf at his Return to the Arts of Peace, and the Orders of his State, wherein he as well excelled as in thoſe of War, and was framed, not only for a great Prince but for a good, to which he was inclined by the Bounty and Clemency of his natural Diſpoſitions, by the Strength and

and Soundneſs of his Judgment, and by the Experience of his Age; His firſt Care was to provide for the due Adminiſtration and Execution of Laws and Juſtice, throughout his Realm, and the next was to introduce Order into the common Courſe of his Revenue, and manage it with ſo great Propotion of his Expence to his Receipts, as might neither leave the Crown in Neceſſities, nor the Subjects in Fears of new or lawleſs Exactions and Oppreſſions; Juſtice being the very Foundation of Government, as Treaſure is ſaid to be the Sinew of War.

For the firſt; As he had ſworn at his Coronation, to govern by the Laws of the Realm; ſo he continued the ancient Cuſtoms and Liberties of the People that were

were called the common Law of the Kingdom, which he cauſed to be in Subſtance obſerved, both in what concerned the Crown and the Subject, though he introduced ſeveral new Forms in the Adminiſtration or Execution of them: Beſides the ancient Laws or Cuſtoms that concerned the Deſcent of private Inhetitances, or the Penalties upon ſeveral Crimes; there were two fundamental Laws of the *Saxon* or *Engliſh Kingdom*; The Trial by Juries of twelve Men, wherein conſiſted the chief Safety of Mens Properties and Lives; And the Burrough Law, which was the greateſt Security that had been invented by the Wiſdom of our *Saxon Anceſtors*, for the Peace and Order of the Realm. The firſt, I know, is by ſome Authors mentioned as having been introduced

duced by this *Norman King* out of the Laws of that Country: But I think it evident to have been an Inſtitution very ancient among the *Saxons*, and to have been derived and obſerved, during the whole Succeſſion of the *Engliſh Kings*, and even in the *Daniſh Reigns*, without any Interruption. Nor does there want ſome Traces or Appearance of it, from the very Inſtitutions of *Odin*, the firſt great Leader of the *Aſiatick Goths* or *Getæ* into *Europe*, and the Founder of that mighty Kingdom, round the *Baltick Sea*, from whence all the *Gothick Governments* in theſe North-weſt Parts of the World were derived by the ſpreading Conqueſts of thoſe Northern Races.

'Tis recorded, that upon the beginning of his Expedition, he ordained a Council of twelve Men, who

who ſhould judge and decide all Matters that came in Queſtion: And there being then no other Laws eſtabliſht among thoſe vaſt Numbers of rough People, going to ſeek out new Conqueſts, and thereby Seats to inhabit; It is probable theſe twelve Men judged all Caſes upon Evidence or matter of fact, and then gave their Sentence, and appointed Penalties according to what they eſteemed moſt agreeable to Juſtice and Equity, ſo as the twelve Men were at firſt both Jurors and Judges: Their Judgments in Cauſes both real and criminal being generally approved as juſt and equitable, grew into Preſident to ſucceeding Judges, and being received by general Submiſſion, introduced the Cuſtom of certain Sentences being pronounced in certain Cauſes, and certain Puniſhments being uſually inflicted

flicted upon certain Crimes. In Proceſs of Time and Multiplicity of Buſineſs, the matter of Fact continued to be tried by twelve Men, but the Adjudgment of the Puniſhment, and the Sentence thereupon came to be given by one or two or more Perſons choſen out of ſuch as were beſt verſed in the Knowledge of what had been uſual in former Judgments upon like Caſes; and as the firſt Part was left to the Equals or Neighbours of the Perſons accuſed (as moſt likely to do Juſtice to one of their own Rank or Acquaintance) ſo the other was committed to Perſons of Learning or Knowledge in the ancient Cuſtoms, Records or Traditions of what had long paſſed in the Courſe of Juſtice among that Nation: Thus we find it evident that

in the *Saxon Reigns* in *England*, Cauſes were adjudged by the Aldermen and Biſhop of the ſeveral Shires, with the Aſſiſtance of twelve Men of the ſame County, who are ſaid to have been Judges or Aſſiſtants to the two firſt, by ſuch as affirm or pretend this manner of Trial, to have been drawn by the Conqueror himſelf out of *Normandy*, who is thereby ſaid to have introduced in this, as well as ſome other Forms, the *Norman Laws* into the Common Law of *England*. 'Tis true, that the ſame Cuſtom or Trial was uſed in *Normandy* before the Conqueſt, and it is moſt probable that neither the *Engliſh* received it from the *Normans*, nor theſe from the *Engliſh*; but that both Nations deriving their Original from thoſe ancient *Goths*, agreed in ſeveral Cuſtoms or Inſtitutions

tions, deduced from their common Anceſtors, which made this Trial by Juries continue uniterrupted in *England*, not only by the *Normans*, but by the *Danes* alſo, who were but another Swarm of that great Northern Hive. 'Tis true, the Terms of Jury and Verdict were introduced by the *Normans* with many others, in the Stile and Practice of our Laws, but the Trials by twelve Men with that eſſential Circumſtance of their unanimous Agreement, was not only uſed among the *Saxons* and *Normans*, but is known to have been as ancient in *Sweden*, as any *Records* or Traditions of that Kingdom, which was the firſt Seat of the *Gothick Dominions* in the North-weſt Parts of *Europe*, and it ſtill remains in ſome Provinces of that Country. However, King *William* cauſed

caused this to be observed as the Common Law of the Kingdom, and thereby gave great and universal Satisfaction to the Body of the People, both *English* and *Normans*.

The Borough-Law had been likewise anciently establish'd among the *Saxons*, whereby every Shire was divided into so many Hundreds or Boroughs, consisting at first of One Hundred Families therein usually inhabiting; every Hundred into so many Tythings, consisting of Ten Families. If any Person committed, or were accused of any Crime, the Tything to which he belonged was bound to produce him to Justice before the Court of the Hundred or County: If he fled, they were to swear they were not Complices of the Fact, and that they would procure the Criminal whenever

they could find him; if this failed, in a certain time, they would diſcover all the Goods he was poſſeſs'd of within their Tything, to ſatisfie the Damage done to a Subject, or a Fine to the King, upon ſuch an Offence: If neither Perſon nor Eſtate appeared, then the Tything was anſwerable to a certain Proportion; and, if that were not ſufficient, then it was laid upon the Hundred: By this Means, it became every Man's Intereſt, as well as Duty, to prevent all Crimes and Miſdemeanors among their Neighbours, and to diſcover the Criminals, ſince they were otherwiſe to ſhare in the Penalty; and, as the reſt of the Tything was bound for the Behaviour of every Freeman among them, ſo every Lord or Maſter was bound to anſwer in the ſame Manner for their Servants.

I know not whether any Conſtitution of Government, either Ancient or Modern, ever invented and inſtituted any Law or Order, of greater Wiſdom, or of greater Force, to preſerve the Peace and Safety of any State, and of equal Utility to the Prince and People, making Vertue and Innocence of Life ſo neceſſary, by the eaſie Apprehenſion or Diſcovery, and certain Puniſhment of Offenders. This Law the King cauſed likewiſe to be ſeverely obſerved, during his Reign, finding therein his own Intereſt, as well as his Peoples, and the great Security of his new ſettled Government.

He confirmed all Mens Properties, Inheritances, and Succeſſions, invading none, either for his own Benefit, or Reward of his *Norman* Forces, or Friends, ex-

cepting the Poſſeſſions of ſuch as had oppoſed his Claim to the Crown, which he pretended to be a lawful Right, as derived from the Teſtament of *Edward* the Confeſſor, and thereby was made a Pretence of legal Forfeiture in all that reſiſted him: But this Blow to ſo many Eſtates and Families was given at once, and no more renewed: On the contrary, Juſtice was adminiſtred equally to the *Engliſh* Men, upon the Injuries of the *Normans*, who preſumed upon the King's Favour, in Prejudice of Right, and of thoſe Laws he had confirmed or eſtabliſhed. Whereof one memorable Inſtance remains upon Record, even in thoſe Writers who were moſt ſevere upon the Actions and Memory of this Prince: It was an Action between *Warren*, a *Norman*, and *Sherburn*, an

*Engliſh*

*Engliſh* Man: The firſt, by Virtue of a Grant from the King, had entered upon the Lands of the other, who came into Court, and pleaded, That he had never bore Arms againſt the King, nor oppoſed his Title or Acceſſion to the Crown, but had lived always peaceably upon his own Lands, and ſo was liable to no Forfeiture by the Common Law, but was further ſecured by the King's Declaration, immediately after his coming to the Crown: Upon which Plea a juſt Sentence was given in Favour of *Sherburn*, his Lands reſtored, and *Warren*, the *Norman* caſt and condemned to the Coſts of the Suit.

He appointed Juſtices to preſerve the Peace, and adminiſter Juſtice in every County, purſuant to that which was uſed in the *Saxon*

Reigns. For the Pleas of the Crown, and those of greater Moment, between the Subjects, he created Judges of the most Learned and Able he could find; and ordained Four Terms each Year, consisting of a certain Number of Days, wherein Justice should be duly administred; and all Suits heard in such Places as the King should appoint, and find most convenient. Besides these Orders, he instituted the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer; the first for tempering the Rigor of Laws, according to the Dictates of Conscience and Equity; and the other for determining all Actions concerning the Revenues of the Crown, and punishing Exactions or irregular Proceedings in the Officers who levied or received them, as well as Defaults or Delays in those from whom it was due.

For

For Taxes or Impoſitions unuſual, it does not appear, that he levied any, excepting one of Six Shillings upon each Plow-Land, throughout the Kingdom; nor is it well agreed, at what Time, or upon what Occaſion this was raiſed, whether by Conſent of a general Aſſembly, or by his own Regal Authority: By this, indeed, he impoſed *Danegelt* upon the Invaſion of the *Danes*, which happened once or twice in this Reign, though with little Progreſs or Succeſs.

This Tax was firſt raiſed by *Ethelreld*, upon the firſt Enterprize of the *Danes* upon *England*; and afterwards uſed by ſeveral of his Succeſſors, upon the like Danger; ſometimes to repulſe them by Force and Arms; ſometimes to evade them by Bargains and Money; wherewith they compounded for

the preſent Dangers, but invited others to come by ſuch mean Defences.

This Tax grew odious to the People, whenever it was raiſed upon any other Pretence, than a *Daniſh* Invaſion; and, though it was ſometimes levied, yet very ſeldom, and cautiouſly, by ſome few of the *Saxon* Kings, and but once or twice by this *Norman* Prince, and then moſt probably upon the true natural Occaſions, which had given it the firſt Original: Thus, I ſuppoſe, it is confounded with the Tax before-mentioned, and without applying it to the *Daniſh* Invaſions, by ſome Writers, who ſeem to take all Occaſions of defaming the Actions and Memory of this King, and to avoid all juſt Excuſes of any that were ill reſented: And this proceeded from the ill

Ta-

Talent of the Monkiſh Writers, who meaſured the Vertues and Vices of Princes, by the Opinion of their Favour or Diſaffection to the Clergy, whom they acounted or ſtyled the Church; though this general Appellation is known to comprehend not only ſuch Perſons as were anciently choſen to adminiſter the Offices of Divine Worſhip, but alſo all believing Chriſtians that compoſed ſuch Aſſemblies, to whom thoſe Offices were adminiſtred: Of this, the King ſeemed to be ſenſible; for, though he was a Prince of known and great Piety, and ſo approved by the ſeveral Popes during his Reign; yet he appeared very little favourable, if not ſomething hard to the Eccleſiaſticks of this Kingdom; and perhaps, ſomething bold with their Privileges ſo long enjoy'd under the devout *Saxon* Kings. For

For the reſt, he contented himſelf with the uſual Revenues of the Crown; and by his great Order and Management, as well as Moderation in his conſtant Expence, gained much Eaſe to the Crown, and Satisfaction to his People.

The chief and ancient Branches of the Crown-Revenue conſiſted of, Firſt, the Lands of old reſerved, as a Proviſion for the King's Houſhold, and ſo reckoned as Crown-Lands: Theſe at firſt yielded only certain Quanities of Proviſions, as Beefs, Sheep, Wheat, Hay, Oats, according to the Nature of the Lands, the Tenures by which they held, and the Quantity of Proviſions found neceſſary for the King's Houſhold; what Overplus remained, was compounded for, and paid in Money, accord-

according to Rates uſual, and agreed. The next was a Duty reſerved anciently out of every Knight's Fee; which at firſt was conſtantly paid as a Quit-rent; but being ſmall, come in time to be neglected by the Kings, that contented themſelves with the Military attendance of the Knights in their Wars; and with levying ſometimes a greater Duty upon great or urgent Occaſions, under the Name of Eſcuage, which was burthenſom and odious till the Proportions and Occaſions came to be aſcertained. Thoſe Authors, who will make the Conqueror to have broken, or changed the Laws of *England*, and introduced thoſe of *Normandy*, pretend this Duty of Eſcuage with the Tenures of Knights Service and Baronage, to have come over in this Reign, as well as the Tryal by

by Juries: But as enough has been ſaid to clear the laſt, ſo it needs no Proof, that theſe, with the other Feudal Laws, were all brought into *Europe* by the ancient *Goths*, and by them ſettled in all the Provinces, which they conquered of the *Roman* Empire; and, among the reſt, by the *Saxons* in *England*, as well as by the *Franks* in *Gaul*, and the *Normans* in *Normandy*; where the Uſe of their States, or general Aſſemblies were likewiſe of the ſame Original.

The laſt common Branch of the King's Revenue conſiſted of Forfeitures, both of Lands and Goods, in Caſes of Treaſon; and Fines, or ſome known mulctary Puniſhments upon other Crimes, which were diſtinctly preſcribed in the *Saxon* Laws, even for Manſlaughter and Murther it ſelf; the Rigour

of

of thoſe Times not extending to Blood, except in thoſe Caſes where the common Safety of the Kingdom was concerned, by the Danger of the King.

By all theſe Orders and Inſtitutions, and the Clemency, as well as Juſtice, wherewith they were adminiſtred; the King how new ſoever his Reign, how diſputed his Title, and how diſagreeable his Perſon by a Foreign Birth, yet ſo far gained the general Affections and Satisfaction of the Commoners of the Realm; who ask nothing but Security in their Eſtates and Properties, that no Commotions afterwards raiſed by the Nobles and Clergy againſt his Government, though in Favour of a better Right and Title, were ever ſupported by the Commons, who compoſe the Maſs and Bulk of a Na-

Nation, and whoſe general Good or ill Humour, Satisfaction or Diſcontent will ever have the moſt forcible Influence for the Preſervation or Ruine of any State.

Beſides the good and profitable Inſtitutions and Orders of this King, already mentioned, ſo generally approved, and ſo grateful to the Commonalty of the Realm, there were others of a different Nature, and which had a contrary Effect by diſtaſting and diſobliging many of the chief Nobility, and moſt or all of the Clergy; though ſome were ſo cautious, as not to loſe their Dignities, or Revenues by expreſſing their Reſentments.

The Offences taken by theſe laſt, were, firſt, the abrogating or ſurceaſing the Judiciary Power, exerciſed by the Biſhops during the *Saxon* Times in each County, where Juſtice

Juſtice was adminiſtred; and the Biſhop with the Alderman, or Earl of each Shire, ſate as Judges in thoſe Courts, which encreaſed not only their Authority, but their Revenues too, by a Share they had with the King in all Fines rais'd from the Iſſue of Cauſes there determined: But all this was aboliſhed by the King's Inſtitution of Juſticiaries, to adminiſter Juſtice upon all Pleas of the Crown, and others among Subjects, at Four Terms of the Year.

This gave particular Offence to the Biſhops, but another to the whole Clergy; for, whereas before they held all their Land by *Franc Almonage*, and ſubject to no Duties or Impoſitions, but ſuch as they laid upon themſelves in their Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies. This Prince finding above a Third Part

of

of the Lands of the Kingdom in Poſſeſſion of the Clergy, and the Forces of the Crown, which conſiſted in Knights Service, leſſened in Proportion by their Immunity. He reduced all their Lands to the common Tenure of Knights Fees and Baronage; and thereby ſubjected them to the Attendance upon the King in his Wars, and to other Services anciently due; and ſometimes raiſed upon all Lands that held in Fee from the Crown. This Innovation touched not only the Biſhops, but all the Abbots throughout the Kingdom; many of whom were endowed with ſo great Lands and Revenues, that in Right thereof, they were upon the regular Conſtitutions of Parliaments, allowed Seſſion with the Biſhops, as Barons in the Houſe of Lords.

The

The whole Clergy exclaimed againſt this new Inſtitution, not only as an Indignity and Injuſtice, but as an Impiety too, and Violation of the Sacred Rights of the Holy Church; but their Complaints were without Redreſs, though not without ill Conſequence.

The Diſcontents among many of the great Nobles, aroſe chiefly from Two Occaſions; The firſt was, the Rigor of the Foreſt-Laws, and of their Execution; And the other was, the King's too apparent Partiality to his *Normans*.

To know the Ground or Pretence of theſe Foreſt-Laws, it will be neceſſary to run up to their Original. In the firſt Seiſures and Diſtributions made of the *Britiſh* Lands, by the Conquering *Saxons*, beſides thoſe reſerved to the

Kings, or divided among the People, and held by the Tenures, either of Knights Service, or of Book-land, as it was termed among the *Saxons*, and thereby distinguish'd from that of Villenage: There were many great Tracts of barren, wild, or woody Lands, left undispos'd, and in a manner waste, so great Numbers of *British* Inhabitants having been extinguish'd by the Wars, or retired into *Wales*, *Cornwal*, *Britanny*, and *Scotland*, and the new *Saxons* not content to share among them, any Land, but such as were fruitful, and fit to be cultivated: These were enclos'd or improved as well as inhabited by the new Proprietors, and the others left waste as well as undispos'd to any certain Owners: The whole Country was, as has been observed, very full

full of all ſorts of wild Game in the Time of the *Britains*; who lived at large, without any Incloſures, little Property, and ſubſiſted much upon Hunting, Fiſhing and Fowling, which they had all in common. Upon the Encloſing or Cultivating of the fruitful Lands by the *Saxons*, the wild Beaſts naturally afraid of Neighbours, whom they found to be all Enemies, fled into the wild, woody, and deſolate Tracts of Land, where they found Shelter, and fed, though hardly, yet out of common Sight and Noiſe: And hereby all thoſe Parts became repleniſh'd with all ſorts of Game, eſpecially with Red and Fallow Deer, and made all thoſe ſeveral Extents of Ground, which were afterwards called Foreſts.

The *Saxon* Kings esteemed these to belong to the Crown, by their Right to all Possessions that have no certain Owner, and by their never having been disposed upon the first Divisions of Land in the *Saxon* Kingdoms, nor afterwards by any Grants of the Crown. This Right was not disputed, nor any Use of it made, further than for the King's Pleasure, which yet was not by them restrained from the Nobles or Knights, that were Borderers upon the Forests, who were so moderate in those more simple Ages, as to commit no Excesses, or destroy the Game, which it was their Interest to preserve, both for their Sport and the Quarry; and for some use made of it for common Pasturage, among all the bordering Neighbours.

*William*

*William* the Conqueror not only ſeized upon all theſe Foreſts, as part of his own Demeſnes, but made a very large one in *Hampſhire*, beſides thoſe he found, by laying waſte; and leaving uninhabited great Extents of Land, which he pretended to be fallen to the Crown, by ancient Succeſſion, or by new Forfeitures; and this he called the *New Foreſt*, which Name, after ſo long a Courſe of Ages, it ſtill retains.

In all theſe Foreſts he pretended an abſolute Right and Dominion; and in purſuance thereof, inſtituted new and arbitrary Laws of his own, unuſed and unknown before in this Kingdom, and very different from the Moderation of the *Saxon* Government. He confined all Hunting or Fowling in theſe Foreſts to himſelf, or ſuch as ſhould have

Right to it by his Conceſſions, or Permiſſions. He impoſed Fines upon all Treſpaſſes committed in them, according to his own Pleaſure, and which ſeemed much to exceed the Fault or Value of the Thing. Theſe he cauſed to be levied with great Rigor and Exaction; and thereby debarred not only his Commoners, but his Nobles too, from a Liberty they had before always enjoy'd: Though he took Care not to provoke the Commoners, by leaving Paſturage free for ſuch of the Neighbours who lived moſt upon their Stock, and thereby took no great Offence at the Reſtraint from their Sport, which they had not Time from their Labour much to follow; yet the Nobles and Knights, who valued their Sports more than common Gains, and made uſe of their

Riches

Riches but for Encreaſe of their Pleaſures, reſented this Reſtraint as a ſenſible Injury, as an Invaſion of their Liberties, and even as an Affectation of an Arbitrary Power in this Particular; and from the Exerciſe whereof, he was only reſtrained, by the Regards of his Safety and Intereſt, in others of more Moment and Conſequence: The great Nobles reſented it yet further, as an Indignity, by levelling their Privileges with the Liberties of the Commoners; from whom they eſteemed themſelves diſtinguiſhed by the uſual Regards, and Reſpects paid them from the Princes in their Degree, as well as from the People. Nor does it appear, whether this violent Inſtitution of the Foreſt-Laws proceeded from his paſſionate Love of Hunting (the only Pleaſure to

which this Prince was addicted) or from his Avarice, by so many Fines to encreaſe his Treaſure, or from a Deſire of being Abſolute and Arbitrary in one Part of his Government, which he found he could not be with any Safety in the reſt.

For his Partiality to the *Normans*, though it was diſguiſed, or at leaſt not evident in the common Forms of his Juſtice, which run a free and even Courſe, yet it was eaſily diſcovered in that of his Graces and Favour; the Civil Offices, Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, Places of moſt Truſt about his Perſon, and in his Realm, were conferred generally upon his *Normans*; and beſides theſe Advantages, and thoſe of the Forfeitures that fell upon his Entrance; they appeared to have his Countenance,

his Converſation, his Confidence; ſo that whatſoever the *Engliſh* poſſeſſed of the Kingdom, the *Normans* alone ſeemed to poſſeſs the King.

This might have been more excuſable, if the *Engliſh* had conſidered the King as much as themſelves, and many of his Circumſtances as well as their own: They were Strangers to him, or but new Acquaintance; they differed in Language, in Manners, in Cuſtoms; they had very lately differed in Intereſt, and from Enemies in War; were, indeed, now become Subjects, but rather as to a Conqueror than a lawful Prince: The *Normans* ſpoke his Native Tongue, were trained up in the ſame Cuſtoms, acquainted with his Perſon from his Youth, had attended him in his Court, followed him

in

in his Wars, at Home and Abroad; and thought it but juſt they ſhould ſhare in his Fortunes, as they had in his Dangers.

However, many of the great aſpiring Spirits, among the *Engliſh* Nobles, could not bear this Partiality of the King's: They thought the *Normans* ought to be provided of Rewards or Honours in *Normandy*, but thoſe of *England* ſhould be conferred upon *Engliſh*; Beſides, they reſented the common Teſtimonies of his Inclination to the *Normans*, as much as they could have done Injuries to themſelves: Like generous Lovers, who are more jealous and ſpited to ſee their Rivals gain the Inclination of their Miſtreſs, than the Poſſeſſion; and had rather they ſhould have her Body than her Heart.

Upon

Upon all theſe Cauſes, the Diſcontents of many chief *Engliſh* Nobles and Prelates were grown to ſuch a Height, ſwelling more within, the more they were ſuppreſſed; that they wanted only a fair Occaſion to draw them to a Head, and make them break out with Violence, and much Pain and Danger to the State.

This was furniſh'd them, either by Fortune or Deſign, in the Third, Fourth, or Fifth Year of the Conqueror's Reign: For the Authors are neither diſtinct, nor agreed in aſſigning the Cauſes, or the Times of this King's Actions in War, or Inſtitutions in Peace, by which their true Nature, and that of the Prince would have been beſt diſcovered; whereas they content themſelves to diſplay their Eloquence, or vent their Paſ-

Paſſions, by relating general or particular Events, what was done, and what was ſuffered in his Reign; by which ſome of the *Norman* Writers endeavour to repreſent him as a God, and ſome of the *Engliſh* like a Devil, and both unjuſtly.

*Edgar Atheling* was Nephew to *Edward* the Confeſſor, and the undiſputed as well as undoubted Heir of the Kingdom from the *Saxon* Race: It was generally thought, that he had likewiſe been deſigned by King *Edward*, a juſt and pious Prince, to ſucceed him in the Throne; and that his Declaration pretended by *Harold*, or Teſtament by the Duke of *Normandy*, were fictitious, or at leaſt, neither of them evident from any clear and undoubted Writings, or Teſtimonies. *Edgar* was beſides from the

Bounty

Bounty of his Nature, the Excellence of his Temper, the Prerogative of his Birth, and the Compaſſion of his unjuſt Fortunes, much and generally beloved and eſteemed among all the *Engliſh*, both Nobles and Commons; yet he neither oppoſed *Harold*'s Uſurpation, nor the *Normans* Conqueſt; whether for want of Spirit to attempt ſo great an Adventure, or upon Prudence, not to oppoſe ſuch Powers, as he found unreſiſtable, and in which ſo many Circumſtances had conſpired, chooſing rather to content himſelf with the Shades of a private Condition, out of Danger and Envy, or at leaſt to attend ſome future Occaſions, that might open a more probable Way to his Hopes and his Fortunes.

He was at *London*, among many other Nobles, when the famous

and

and decisive Battle was fought at *Hastings*, and the News brought of the Duke's Victory, and of *Harold*'s Death: Those of the Nobles, who were for opposing the Conqueror, were for declaring *Edgar Atheling*, King; the Citizens of *London* were at first disposed to the same Resolution; but the Bishops and Clergy, who had the greatest Sway among both those Orders, prevailed in this general Council, for a general Submission to the Fate of the Kingdom.

In pursuance of this Resolution, *Edgar Atheling*, with *Stigand* and *Alred*, Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, *Edwin* and *Morchar*, Two of the greatest *English* Lords, the rest of the Nobles and Bishops, who had attended the Victorious Duke upon his Way to *London*, was well received by him, and treated

ed with Bounty as well as Humanity; ſo that the young Prince, attended frequently at Court, accompanied the King into *Normandy*, returned with him into *England*, and lived there for ſome time like one who had forgot his Birth and his Title, though they were by the *Engliſh* well remembred: But at length, either weary of Reſt, or rouſed by other Spirits more unquiet than his own, he reſolved, or at leaſt pretended, to make a Journey into *Hungary*, where he was born, during his Father's Exile, had lived long, and was much beloved: He embarqued for *Flanders* with his Two Sifters, *Margaret* and *Chriſtine*, but forced by a Storm and contrary Winds, or allured by fairer Hopes, he was driven upon the Coaſts of *Scotland*; the firſt was given out, but the laſt

laſt ſuſpected, from the Event of this Voyage. He was received by *Malcolm*, the King, with great Kindneſs, and Compaſſion of his Diſaſters, both at Sea and Land; was reſorted to by all the Nobles and Gentlemen, who had ſheltered themſelves in that Kingdom, upon Hate or Fear of the Conqueſt in *England*; and was by them acknowledged and honoured as the true lawful Heir of that Crown: Soon after his Arrival, the King of *Scotland*, enflamed either with the Beauty of the young Lady, or with the Hopes of her Brother's Fortunes, or upon former Concert with the *Engliſh* Nobles, reſiding in *Scotland*, and Intelligence with others, diſcontented in *England*, married the Lady *Margaret*, Eldeſt Siſter of *Edgar*; and thereby became newly engaged in the Intereſts

reſts and Family of this noble, but unfortunate Prince.

The Fame of this Adventure was no ſooner divulged in *England*, than it raiſed a great, though different Motion in the Minds of all Men there, who were either well or ill affected to the new King, filling one Party with new Hopes, and the other with new Fears, and reaſonably enough in both, from all common Appearances. Many Perſons of great Note and Authority in *England*, repaired immediately upon it into *Scotland*, ſome by eaſie Paſſages out of the Northern Counties, and others out of the remoter Parts of the Realm, by more difficult Eſcapes, either by Sea or Land. Among theſe were the Earls, *Edwin*, *Morchar*, *Hereward*, *Seward*, *Goſpatrick*, Men of great Eſtates and Power,

as was believed, in *England*, with many other Nobles and Gentlemen: But that which ſeemed yet of greater Influence and Authority, was the Repair of *Stigand*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Alred* of *York*, with divers other Biſhops and Prelates, who having been the chief Inſtruments in making Way for the eaſie Acceſſion of Duke *William* to the Crown, and for the general Submiſſion of the *Engliſh* to his Reign, were preſumed now likely to prove of as great Moment and Importance for the Reſtoration and Support of a juſt *Engliſh* Title in *Edgar*, as they had been for the Admiſſion and Eſtabliſhment of one Diſputed and Foreign, of the *Norman* Dukes: Beſides, the Clergy being accounted the wiſe and learned Men of that Age, were eſteemed moſt likely to judge

judge beſt of the Rights, and beſt to foreſee the Events in Diſputes of the Crown, and unlikely to embark themſelves in a Bottom unſound, upon eitther the Regards of Juſtice or Succeſs.

*Edgar*, exalted with ſuch a Concourſe of Nobles out of *England*, and the Hopes they gave him of a greater from the People there, when he ſhould appear among them, reſolved to lay claim to that Crown, and with ſtronger Arguments than thoſe of a bare Title, or Right of Succeſſion, how juſt ſoever: For the *Scotch* King had now aſſiſted him with a great Army, being induced to engage openly in his Quarrel, not only by the Charms of his Wife, or Compaſſion of her Brother's hard Fortune, but by Reaſons of State, as well as of Juſtice and Af-

fection ; he feared the dangerous Neighbourhood of ſo powerful, aſpiring, and fortunate a Prince, and apprehended his Ambition would not ceaſe with the Conqueſt of *England*, but extend it to that of *Scotland* too, and reducing the whole Iſland of *Britain* under one Dominion, for which it ſeemed by Nature to have been framed ; he thought both wiſe and neceſſary, to give ſome Stop to this growing Power, before it became too well ſettled at home, and thereby prepared for new Enterprizes abroad ; and that it was better carrying a War into *England*, than expecting it in *Scotland*. He was glad of ſo fair an Occaſion to juſtifie his Quarrel, and by advancing the Fortunes of *Edgar* to ſecure his own ; he had taken Meaſures with *Swayn*, King of *Denmark*, to enter

enter the *Humber* with a powerful Navy, whilſt he with his Army entred the Northern Provinces by Land; and with the Sons of *Harold*, at the ſame Time, to invade the Weſt by the Aſſiſtance of Forces, to be furniſhed by *Drone*, King of *Ireland*, to whom they had fled upon the *Norman* Victory. He preſumed upon great Inſurrections among the *Engliſh*, in Favour of *Edgar*, and by the Authority of the Nobles his Aſſociates, who had repreſented the common Diſcontents in *England*, to be as great as their own.

Theſe Hopes were not ill grounded, nor the Deſigns ill laid; for the *Daniſh* Fleet was ready to ſail, and the Sons of *Harold*, with their *Iriſh* Forces, landed and raiſed a Commotion in the Weſt, at the ſame Time that *Edgar* with thoſe

out of *Scotland*, invaded the North, where he found at firſt no Oppoſition; but inſtead of Enemies, met with many Friends prepared to receive him, and increaſe his Strength: He made himſelf Maſter of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, by the Defeat of *Robert*, Count of *Mortain*, who was there ſlain, with Seven Hundred *Normans*. From thence he marched, without Reſiſtance, as far as *York*, which was defended by a ſtrong Garriſon of *Norman* Soldiers: He beſieged this City, the Capital and Defence of all the Northern Counties, and aſſaulted it with that Fury, that he carried the Town by Storm, where all the *Normans* were put to the Sword by the Rage and Revenge of the *Engliſh* Nobles in his Army; many in the Heat of the Aſſault,

Aſſault, and the reſt, after they were entred, and found no more Reſiſtance. After this Succeſs, *Edgar* remained ſome time at *York* to refreſh his Army, after ſo long a March, and ſo warm an Action, which had coſt him the Lives of many brave Men, and the Wounds of many more. Beſides, he expected here to ſee his Army ſoon increaſed, by the Repair of many Friends and Diſcontents out of the Southern Provinces of *England*, and by the Arrival of the *Daniſh* Fleet in the *Humber*, according to the Concert before agreed, and for which he knew all had been prepared.

King *William* thus ſurrounded with Dangers from the Weſt and North, and with Jealouſies of his new Subjects, of whoſe Affections he had yet made no Trial, fur-

ther than ſome few Years Submiſſion to his Government, was yet undaunted at the News of all theſe Attempts, nor any ways diſtracted by ſuch various either Dangers or Fears. He applied himſelf to thoſe which were neareſt, by ſending the Forces he had ready, immediately into the Weſt, under experienced Commanders; and prepared a greater Army both of *Engliſh* and *Normans*, to march himſelf into the North, after the Commotions in the Weſt ſhould be appeaſed: This happened to be eaſier and ſooner than he expected; for the Attempt of *Harold*'s Sons, with their *Iriſh* Forces, proved weak and faint, though ſucceſsful in the firſt Encounter; wherein *Ednoth*, a brave Commander, on the King's ſide, was ſlain, with ſeveral of his Follow-

ers;

ers; but the Sons of *Harold* being defeated in a ſecond Engagement, and failing of any conſiderable Recourſe, or Inſurrection of the *Engliſh* there, (upon which they had grounded their chief Hopes) much diſappointed, and thereby diſcouraged, were eaſily broken by the brave *Norman* Troops, and forced to return with the Remainder of their *Iriſh* Forces into *Ireland.*

King *William* upon the happy End of this Adventure, after the beſt Orders taken for the Security of the Southern Parts, in his Abſence, marched at the Head of a brave Army in the North, engaged the Forces of *Edgar* in a ſet Battle; and by the Valour of his Troops, the Diſcipline and Order of his Army, and his own excellent Conduct, defeated entirely the united Strength of his Enemies; be-

ſieged and took again the City of *York*, defended by *Waltheof*, Son to the Earl *Syward*, a young Gentleman of great Valour, and much admired in this Action, being ſaid to have ſtood firm at a Breach made in the Wall, and with his Sword to have cut off the Heads of many *Normans*, as they preſſed to enter, and could do it but one by one, by the Narrowneſs of the Breach, ſo bravely defended.

After this Defeat, and the Surrender of *York*, *Edgar* retired into *Scotland* with thoſe of his Dependants, who were moſt deſperate and impatient of the *Norman* Conqueſt. The reſt of the *Engliſh* Nobles, who had eſcaped the Battle, ſubmitted themſelves to the King, and came in upon publick Faith, took a new Oath of Allegiance, and were thereupon all pardoned, and

many

many reſtored, not only to their Eſtates, but to Favour with the King; who had found *Erick* the Foreſter, that had firſt rebelled againſt him after his Coronation, expreſs great Fidelity, after his Pardon obtained, and perform good Service in this Northern Expedition. He made *Goſpatrick* Earl of *Northumberland*, and employed him againſt the Dangers and Incurſions he apprehended from the *Scotch*. He was ſo charmed with the Valour and Conſtancy that *Waltheof* had ſhewed in the Defence of *York* (though ſo much to his Coſt, and the Loſs of ſo many *Normans* by his Sword) that he reſolved to gain him at what Rate ſoever he valued himſelf, ſhowing the Nobleneſs of his own Courage and Vertue, by loving and honouring them in his Enemies. He mar-

married this young Gentleman to *Judith* his Niece, gave him great Poſſeſſions, beſides thoſe to which he was Heir, and uſed him with much Confidence; which was for ſome time returned with Service, and with Faith.

Moſt of the other Nobles that came in upon Pardon of their Lives, he deſpoiled of their Eſtates and Offices, and beſtowed them upon his *Norman* Friends and Followers: Some he kept Priſoners, whom he thought moſt dangerous; as the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, and *Edwin*, a Man of the greateſt Power and Dependences, whoſe Earldom, and great Poſſeſſions in *Yorkſhire*, were given to *Alain*, Earl of *Britain*; as were thoſe of ſeveral others at the ſame time, to others of his Kindred or Friends. In the room of *Stigand*, he made *Lanfranc* Arch-

Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, an *Italian* born, but an Abbot in *Normandy*, a Perſon of great Wiſdom and Temper, as well as Learning: *Thomas*, his Chaplain, he made Archbiſhop of *York*, and obtained the Approbation of the Pope, for their Succeſſion in thoſe Sees (during the Lives of the other two) upon Repreſentation of other Crimes, or at leaſt Vices, beſides their Rebellion againſt a King, whoſe Title had been confirmed by the Pope, as well as encouraged.

'Tis not agreed at what Time the *Daniſh* Fleet arrived upon the Coaſts, but 'tis certain they entered *Humber* with about Two Hundred Sail: Some write, that they returned again without making any Attempt upon the Shoar; that their Commanders were enriched with great Preſents from the King,

King, and their Soldiers ſupplied with Proviſions, and all treated rather like Friends than Enemies; whether their Arrival out of Time, made them deſpair of any Succeſs, and whether that were occaſioned by croſs Winds at Sea, or croſs Purpoſes in the *Daniſh* Court, is not well known: For *William* the Conqueror, after he was ſeated in the Throne, feared no Inſult from Abroad, but by *Daniſh* Powers, and Pretenſions they had ſtill upon *England*; and the Preparations (as was divulged abroad) of *Swain* their King, for invading it with a Navy of a Thouſand Ships. Hereupon he endeavoured to ward this Blow, by Slight rather than Force, thinking his Safety on that ſide, better purchaſed with Treaſure than with Blood. He practiſed private Intelligences in the *Daniſh* Court,

and

and by force of Preſents and Penſions, gained to his Devotion ſome Perſons of Credit, and among the reſt, *Edelbert*, Archbiſhop of *Hamburg*, a Man of great Authority in thoſe Parts, and whoſe Advices were much uſed and eſteemed by the *Daniſh* King. It was believed, the Artifices and Practices of theſe Men eluded the firſt great Deſign of a mighty Invaſion, changed it into an Aſſiſtance of the Diſcontented here, with ſmaller Forces, delayed them till the Time was paſt, and diſpoſed their Commanders to return without Action, and their Maſter to receive their Excuſes with Approbation, or at leaſt with Impunity.

Yet there are other Writers, who ſay, the *Danes* landed in *England*, made great Spoils, joyned Prince *Edgar*'s Forces, wintered in this King-

Kingdom, and returned in the Spring, by the King's private Practices and Rewards among the Commanders, as well as Bounty to the Soldiers.

The King after having eſtabliſhed his Affairs in the North, returned triumphant to *London*, where the firſt Action he performed, was, to take a new Perſonal Oath, before *Lanfranc* the new Archbiſhop, and all the Lords then preſent in that City; to obſerve the ancient Laws of the Realm, eſtabliſhed by the Kings of *England*, his Predeceſſors, and particularly thoſe of *Edward* the Confeſſor.

This Action of the King's was the more applauded, and the better accepted by the *Engliſh*, becauſe it was unconſtrained by any Neceſſity of his Affairs, or Appearance

pearance of any new Dangers, against which he might have Reason to provide. And 'tis certain, his Oath taken at his Coronation, of preserving the ancient Laws of the Realm, had been the chief Occasion of his Safety in the late and dangerous Convulsion of the State; together with the ill chosen Time of the *Scotch* Invasion, and the Revolt of the Lords in Favour of *Edgar*: For, if such Attempts had been made soon after the Conquest, while the Minds of the People were generally in Motion, and in Fear of what might succeed to the Danger of their Properties, and their ancient Liberties, upon that new Revolution, his Throne had not been only shaken, but in evident Danger of being overthrown by such a violent Concussion. But the People having lived quietly

ſome Years, under the Protection of their ancient Laws, and in an equal Courſe of known and common Juſtice, grew indifferent to the Change, which had been made in the Rights, or Succeſſion of the Crown, or to any new one that might ſucceed. Beſides, tho' they were well affected to *Edgar*, yet they diſliked the Company with which he came attended, and hated the Entrance of a *Scotch* Army into *England*, more than they loved *Edgar*. They thought if he ſucceeded, the Dominion would fall under the *Scotch*, whilſt he only retained the Name; and if they muſt be governed by Strangers, the beſt was to have thoſe they were already uſed to, and ſo feared leaſt. The common Subjects of a Kingdom are not ſo apt to trouble themſelves about the Rights and

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Poſſeſſion of a Crown, as about their own; and ſeldom engage in the Quarrels of the firſt, but upon ſome general and ſtrong Apprehenſions, that the laſt are in Danger. So the Diſcontents and Inſurrections of the Nobles in *England*, tho' encouraged and ſupported by Foreign Forces, yet failed of Succeſs againſt this new King and his Government, becauſe they were not followed by any general Commotion or Sublevation of the People, which left all ſafe and quiet in the Southern Parts, and main Body of the Kingdom, whilſt he marched with his Army againſt his Enemies in the North. Nor is the Safety of a Prince ſo firm and well eſtabliſhed upon any other Bottom, as the general Safety, and thereby Satisfaction of the common People, which make the Bulk and

Strength of all great Kingdoms, whenever they conſpire and unite in any common Paſſion or Intereſt. For the Nobles, without them, are but like an Army of Officers without Soldiers, and make only a vain Show or weak Noiſe, unleſs raiſed and encreaſed by the Voice of the People; which for this Reaſon is in a common *Latin* Proverb called, *The Voice of God.*

No Prince ever made greater or happier Experience of this Truth, than *William* the Conqueror, both in the Events of the laſt and formidable Dangers, which he ſo eaſily ſurmounted, and in the whole Courſe of his ſubſequent Reign, which was infeſted by many new Troubles, either in *England*, or in *Normandy*, that would have proved fatal to him, if he had been diſtracted by the common Diſcontents, or In-

Inſurrections of his *Engliſh* Subjects; for his preſent Calm was not of long Continuance, the Clouds ſoon gathered again, and threatned another Storm, and from the ſame Winds, by which the laſt had been raiſed.

*Malcolm*, King of *Scotland*, ſtill perſiſted in the Envy and Fear of his neighbouring Power and Greatneſs, ſtill eſteemed it his own Intereſt to joyn with thoſe of *Edgar*, and his Dependants in *England*; and thereby weaken the Force, or diſturb the Quiet of the *Norman* Government in *England*, before it ſhould by the Favour of Time, and calm Seaſons, take too deep Root, to be afterwards ſhaken. He raiſed a greater Army than before, with which he threatned again to invade *England*, and led them himſelf, though ſtill in Fa-

vour only of *Edgar*'s Title and Advancement to the Crown. He entered into new Practices with ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Nobles who had followed him, though unfortunately in the laſt Expedition, and were reſolved to repair their former Loſſes, by venturing greater, rather than give over the Game. Nor could the Hopes of the diſcontented *Engliſh* ever die while the Root was alive, and they were fomented by the Malice, and encouraged by the Forces of ſo powerful a Neighbour, joyned with ſo juſt Pretenſions as thoſe of *Edgar* were generally eſteemed.

When the Preparations in *Scotland*, and Intelligences in *England* were ripe for Execution, the Earl *Edwin* made his Eſcape, and fled towards the North, but was by the Way murdered by ſome of his own

own Retinue. The Earls *Morchar* and *Hereward*, who were already upon the Wing, for the ſame Flight, diſcouraged by this Miſadventure, durſt not purſue it, but yet already engaged too far to make a Retreat, they made Way to poſſeſs themſelves of the Iſle of *Ely*, fortified there the beſt they could, and hoped the *Scotch* Invaſion would divert the King's Forces from attempting them before Winter, and that the Seaſon and Scituation together would there cover them for ſome Time.

On the contrary, the *Scotch* King was diſcouraged from beginning his March, by the News of theſe Diſaſters among his Confederates in *England*, and choſe rather to ſend the Biſhop of *Durham*, and Earl *Syward*, out of *Scotland*, to relieve and animate thoſe Lords, retired

to the Isle of *Ely*, than to enter *England* without Hopes of their making some Diversion. But the King, who never feared or slighted any Dangers, and knew they were like Diseases, to be taken in time, marched immediately with his Forces to the Isle of *Ely*, beset it upon one side with a great Number of flat bottom Boats, and on another, made a Bridge of Two Miles long, with incredible Diligence and Labour, and with such Speed, as both surprized and terrified his Enemies within. So as despairing of further Resistance, they all submitted to the King's Mercy, except *Hereward*, who with some few Followers, escaped through the Fens, and through many Dangers, arrived safe in *Scotland*. The rest of the Lords were sent Prisoners to several Parts of the Kingdom, where

where ſome remained during the King's Life, and others died before him, with whom they could not be content to live.

The King, after this ſmall Adventure ſo happily atchieved, and the preſent Peace of his Kingdom reſtored, yet conſidering the Root of all his Dangers was in *Scotland*, and unwilling to take up preſent Quiet and Safety, at too great an Intereſt of Dangers to come, reſolved to march into *Scotland* with a powerful Army, and endeavour to ſecure himſelf on that Side, either by a Peace or Victory. He firſt ſent *Roger*, a *Norman*, then *Goſpatrick*, Earl of *Northumberland*, with part of his Forces into the North, to oppoſe the *Scotch* Army that was already entered thoſe Provinces, with great Spoils and Ravages of the Country, and to keep them at

a Bay till the King came up with the reſt of his Army. In the mean time, he aſſembled his Forces at *York*, with the beſt Choice of Men and Officers, and ſuch Numbers as he judged neceſſary for ſuch an Expedition, compoſed of *Engliſh* and *Normans*, whoſe Emulation he encouraged, with Promiſes of Reward, and Hopes of eſtabliſhing their common Safety by the Succeſs of this Enterprize. From *York* to *Durham* he met with many Hardſhips and Difficulties from the Wants of his Army, in a Country which had been ſo lately waſted by the *Scotch* Forces and his own, and with which he was then contented to prevent another Invaſion. But having ſurmounted all by his own Care, and the Patience of his Men, from the Example of their Leaders, he marched near the Borders without

out any Oppoſition, though common Fame had made him expect the *Scotch* would give him Battle in *England*, and not the Trouble of ſo long a March.

But *Malcolm* their King, now deſtitute of Hopes, or Aſſiſtances from any Foreign Confederates, or any Inſurrections in *England*, after the late Diſaſters of the diſcontented Lords, began to cool the Heats of his Blood; and inſtead of further invading *England*, changed his Councels, and reſolved only upon a defenſive War. At the News of King *William*'s Entrance into the Northern Provinces, he quitted *Northumberland*, and with good Order retreated back to the Borders; and there encamped his Army to the beſt Advantage, without making any further Incurſions into the *Engliſh* Territories, either to ſecure his

his Proviſions, or not to provoke his Enemies, and render all Terms of Reconcilement deſperate, or not to endanger his Retreat in caſe of any Diſaſter.

The King of *England* approaching the Borders, and thereby the *Scotch* Army, thought fit likewiſe to encamp his own, both to refreſh his Soldiers, haraſſed by ſo long and difficult a March, as alſo to diſcover the Forces of the Enemy, obſerve their Countenance, their Order, and their Motions, and thereby judge of their Deſigns, and direct his own to the beſt Advantage: So that for ſome Days the Two Armies ſtood at a Bay, ſeeming both prepared for a fierce Encounter, and yet both content to delay it, from a mutual Reſpect they had for one another's Forces and Diſpoſitions. They were, indeed, not much

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unequal in Numbers, nor in the Bravery and Order of their Troops; both Kings were valiant and wiſe, having been trained up in Arms, inured to Dangers, and much embroiled at Home in the Beginning of their Reigns. They were now animated to a Battle, by their own Courage, as well as their Soldiers, but yet both conſidered the Event, in the Uncertainty and the Conſequence; the Loſs of a Battle might prove the Loſs of a Crown, and the Fortune of one Day determine the Fate of a Kingdom; and they knew very well, that whoever fights a Battle, with what Number and Forces, what Proviſions and Orders, or Appearances ſoever of Succeſs, yet at the beſt, runs a Venture, and leaves much at the Mercy of Fortune, from Accidents not to be foreſeen by any Prudence,

or

or governed by any Conduct or Skill. These Reflections began to dispose both Kings to the Thoughts of ending their Quarrel by a Peace rather than a Battle; and, though both had the same Inclination, yet each of them was unwilling first to discover it, lest it might be interpreted to proceed from Apprehensions of Weakness, or Fears, and thereby dishearten their own Soldiers, or encourage their Enemies. The *Scotch* at length began the Overture, which was received by King *William*, with a Show of Indifference, but with a concealed Joy; and the more reasonable, as having the greater Stake, the less to win, and the more to lose by the Issue of a Battle. The first Parley was followed by a Treaty, and this, after some Debate, by a Peace, concluded as between

tween equal Forces, ſo upon equal Conditions; each King to content himſelf with the ancient Bounds of their ſeveral Kingdoms, whereof the Borders were agreed. Neither to invade one another's Dominions, nor to aſſiſt the Enemies, or receive and protect the Rebels of each other; Priſoners in the laſt, or this War, to be on both ſides releaſed, and Subjects, who deſired to return, to be on both ſides reſtored to their Country and Poſſeſſions.

*Edgar*, the Principal, or moſt appearing Cauſe of the War, was included and provided for in this Treaty, to return into *England*, make his Submiſſion to the King, renounce any further Claim to the Crown; and thereupon, not only to be reſtored to his own Poſſeſſions, with his Friends and Followers, but to be provided of a large

and

and honourable Maintenance from the King during his Life. And thus this Storm, which threatned both Kingdoms, with ſuch fatal Dangers, and long Conſequences, was of a ſudden blown over; a general Calm reſtored in the whole Iſland of *Britain*, and the Two Kings returned to enjoy the Fruits of a Peace, to which they had both contributed, by their equal Temper and Prudence, as well as by their equal Preparations for a War.

Soon after the King's Return, *Edgar* repaired into *England*, where he was very favourably received, and all Conditions of the Treaty performed, and ever after obſerved with great Faith and Sincereneſs on both Parts. He had his Proviſions and Revenues (agreed by the Treaty) fairly eſtabliſhed; but be-

being desirous to go to the Wars of the *Holy Land*, which was the common Humour of idle or devout Princes in that Age: He was furnished by the King with great Sums of Money, to prepare and maintain a noble Equipage for that Journey. He there gained much Honour and Esteem, after which, returning into *England*, he passed the rest of his whole Life in the Ease and Security of a large, but private Fortune; and, perhaps, happier than he might have done in the Contests and Dangers of Ambition, however they might have succeeded. A rare Example of Moderation in Prince *Edgar*, and of Magnanimity as well as Justice and Clemency in this King; and very different from several of his Successors, who defamed their Reigns by the Death of innocent Princes, for having

ving only been born to juſt Rights of the Crown, without any appearing Means or Attempts to purſue them, or endanger the Poſſeſſors; thereby ſtaining their Memories, with the Blots both of Cruelty and Fear. For as Clemency is produced by Magnanimity and Fearleſsneſs of Dangers, ſo is Cruelty by Cowardize and Fear, and argues not only a Depravedneſs of Nature, but alſo a Meanneſs of Courage, and Imbecillity of Mind; for which Reaſon, it is both hated by all that are within its Reach and Danger, and deſpiſed by all that are without.

The King, upon his Return, began again to apply himſelf to the Arts of Peace, which conſiſt chiefly in the preventing of future, as thoſe of War, in the ſurmounting of preſent Dangers. And as nothing

thing raiſes the Power of a Crown ſo much as weak and private Conſpiracies againſt it, raſhly undertaken by ſome few Diſcontents, unſupported by any general Defections of the People, faintly purſued, and ending without Succeſs; ſo this Prince found his Throne and Authority more firmly eſtabliſhed in all Appearance, by the happy Iſſue of the Two late Wars, and the unfortunate Events of his revolted Nobles: And now eſteemed himſelf more at Liberty from thoſe Regards of his *Engliſh* Subjects and their Laws, which his unſettled State had made neceſſary upon his firſt Acceſſion to the Crown. He was provoked by the Rebellions of ſo many of the greateſt *Engliſh* Nobles after their Fealty ſworn to him: He was perſwaded of the general Diſaffection of the reſt,

and that the late Insurrections would have been found much deeper rooted, and farther spread, if they had been attended with any Success. He thought the *English* Lords and Bishops had too great Dependance of their Tenants and Vassals upon them, and had themselves too little upon the Prince: Since they esteemed themselves neither bound to attend him in the Wars, unless they pleased, nor to furnish the Expences, unless by their own Consent in their general Assemblies; nor was he satisfied to have them judge of his Necessities, whom he thought likeliest to encrease them, or at least to desire them. He believed the *English* in general would, as long as they retained the *Saxon* Laws and Forms of Government, ever be affected to the Race of their *Saxon* Kings: And

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for this Reaſon, he was thought to have encouraged the Voyage of *Edgar*, for the *Holy Land*, by ſo large Supplies of Treaſure, under Pretence of that Prince's Honour, but from true Intentions of his own Safety. Beſides, he found his Treaſures exhauſted by the great Charges of his Two laſt Expeditions, and the juſt Rewards he had promiſed both his *Normans*, and thoſe of the *Engliſh*, who had well and faithfully ſerved in them. Though he had once or twice (for 'tis left in doubt) levied the Tax of *Danegelt* upon the Threats of a *Daniſh* Invaſion, and by an ancient Prerogative of the *Saxon* Kings, pretended or exerciſed upon that Occaſion; yet he found it was not raiſed without great Murmur and Reluctancy of the People as well as the Nobles, who pretended

to ancient Liberties, of paying no Taxes impoſed without the Conſent of their General Aſſembles, which began in this King's, or his Son's Time, firſt to be ſtyled Parliaments, according to the *Norman* Phraſe; whereas they had by the *Saxons* been called *Gemoots*, and by their *Latin* Writers, Common Councils, or General Aſſemblies of the Kingdom, though how Compoſed, is left uncertain, and has raiſed much Argument and Diſpute.

All theſe Conſiderations either moved or augmented at this Time, a Deſign or Inclination of this King to change the whole Frame of the *Engliſh* Government, to aboliſh their ancient Laws and Cuſtoms, and introduce thoſe of *Normandy*, by which he thought he ſhould be more abſolute, and too powerful

to

to be again disturbed by any Insurrection at Home, or any Invasions from his Enemies Abroad.

So soon as he had digested, and began to discover this Resolution, 'tis not to be imagined what a universal Discontent, and, indeed, Consternation it raised among all his *English* Subjects, who under so great a King, attended by his victorious *Norman* Forces, reckoned upon no other Safety, but from the Preservation of their ancient Laws, whereof he had hitherto assured them. Whereupon the whole People, sad and aggrieved, as well as the Nobles, in an humble Manner, but with universal Agreement, tendred an earnest Petition to the King: Beseeching him, in Regard of his Oath made at the Coronation, and by the Soul of St. *Edward*, from whom he had the

Crown and Kingdom, under whoſe Laws they were born and bred, that he would not change them, and deliver them up to new and ſtrange Laws which they underderſtood not.

Upon this humble, but earneſt Application of the whole *Engliſh* Nation, united in their Deſires upon this Occaſion; the King, before he reſolved, thought at leaſt it was of Weight to deſerve the beſt Deliberation, and thereupon fell into ſerious Conſultations upon it with his Council, whom he found much divided in their Debates. The *Normans*, among them, were for his executing with Vigor what he had determined, for aboliſhing wholly the *Engliſh* Laws, introducing the *Norman*, and maintaining his Crown and Government, by the ſame Means he had gained them, which

which was by Force and Arms. They were encouraged in this Opinion, by preſuming it agreed with the King's Inclination, and were confirmed by the preſſing Arguments and Advices of his Brother *Odon*, Biſhop of *Bayeux*, a Man of a violent Nature, arbitrary Humour and Will; who, in the Time of the King's Abſence, and his being left Vicegerent, had exerciſed many Oppreſſions, and cruel Exactions upon the People, and had raiſed more Clamour and Hatred againſt the King's Government, than any Councils or Actions of his own.

This ambitious Prelate aſpiring at the Papacy upon the next Election, and deſpairing to obtain it by any other Means than the Force of Money, neglected or refrained no Ways of heaping up Treaſure, though none ſo ſure of encreaſing his

his own, as by advancing the King's, by an abſolute Power over the Perſons and Purſes of his Subjects.

The *Engliſh* of the King's Council were of a different Opinion, but being Parties in the Caſe, had been little conſidered without the Support of *Lanfranc*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who being born an *Italian*, was impartial to *Engliſh* and *Normans*, eſteemed much by both, and more by the King. He was a Man of ſound natural Senſe, and univerſal Goodneſs, of general Knowledge, known Vertue, long Experience, and approved Wiſdom; free and diſintereſſed, and in all Councils conſidering the King more than himſelf, and his true Service and Welfare of the Crown more than his Humour, or his Inclination. The King ever adviſed with him in all the weighty Affairs

of

of his Reign, allowed his Liberty and encouraged it, knowing him to be not only wiſe and good, but faithful to his Intereſts, and affectionate to his Perſon. Happy in the Choice or Fortune of ſuch a Councellor, and more in the Diſpoſition of hearing and weighing ſuch Advices as were never ſo different from his own Opinions or Inclinations. Nor is any Thing more dangerous for a Prince, than to conſult only with Perſons that he thinks are of his own Mind, or will be ſo when they know it; nor more pernicious in a Councellor, than to give only ſuch Advices as he thinks moſt agreeable to him that asks or receives them.

*Lanfranc*, upon this great and weighty Occaſion, repreſented to the King, how much his Safety depended upon the general Satisfacti-

on of his Subjects. That of these, the *English* were much the greater Part, both in Strength and Numbers; that no People could be easie under any Laws, but such wherein they were born and bred: That all Innovations were odious, but none could be more so than this, as appeared by so universal Agreement of the *English*, in their Petition. That the Humility and Calmness of it was more dangerous than if any thing had been done in hot Blood, and the Refusal would be the more resented: That the Laws and Constitutions of this Realm had been digested by the wisest Councils, and confirmed by a long Succession of their Kings: That under them the *Saxons* had been good and loyal Subjects, and their Kings, who ruled by these Laws, never troubled with any Se-

Seditions or Inſurrections of their People : That beſides Reaſon and Experience, Religion was concerned in this Reſolution, ſince the King had already twice ſworn ſolemnly, to obſerve them; ſo as a Change of them now would be taxed not only of Injuſtice, but Impiety : That nothing was of ſo much Moment to a Prince, as Reputation; and none more than that of being a Religious Obſerver of his Word and Promiſe, but eſpecially of his Oaths, without which he could never be truſted by his Subjects, or his Neighbours.

The King heard and weighed all their Reaſons, and by them formed his own Judgment, which he ever truſted in the laſt Reſort. Upon mature Deliberation, as the Caſe required, he at length reſolved, not only to continue the Laws and Cuſtoms

Cuſtoms of the Realm, but to give the People new, and more evident Aſſurances of this Reſolution; In purſuance whereof, he granted and confirmed them by a publick and open Charter, and thereby purchaſed the Hearts, as well as Satisfaction of his *Engliſh* Subjects, whereof he reaped the Fruits, in his ſucceeding Troubles in *Normandy*, and his Wars with *France*.

Yet he could not refrain ſhowing the Kindneſs he retained for his own Country and Language, introducing by Connivance, or by Countenance, ſeveral *Norman* Cuſtoms, and endeavouring to introduce that Language to be general in the Kingdom. To this End, he cauſed many Schools to be ſet up for Teaching that Tongue, which was a *Baſtard French*, not well underſtood by the *French* themſelves,

and

and not at all by the *Engliſh*. He cauſed the Laws of the Kingdom, which had been anciently written in *Saxon*, and by *Edward* the Confeſſor, publiſhed alſo in *Latin*, to be now tranſlated into *Norman*. He ordered all Pleas in the ſeveral Courts to be made in the ſame Language, and all Petitions preſented the King, and all Buſineſs of Court to be likewiſe in *Norman*. This introduced new Terms, new Forms of Pleading and of Proceſs, new Names of Offices and of Courts; and with them, all the litigious Cuſtoms and Subtilties of the *Norman* Pleas and Conveyances, (who were a witty but contentious People) inſtead of the old *Engliſh* Simplicity, in their common Suits, Pleas, or Conveyances, which were plain, brief, without Perplexities, made with good Meaning,

ing, kept with good Faith, and ſo followed by little Contention, and that determined by ſpeedy Juſtice, and Deciſion of Monthly Courts, in every County.

Among the *Saxons* it was uſual to grant Lands and Houſes by bare Words, and with the Delivery of ſome trivial Gift, as an Horn, a Sword, an Arrow, a Helmet, and yet the ſimple Honeſty of thoſe Times and People left ſuch Grants little ſubject to any Diſputes or Contentions. But the Conqueror reduced all Grants to Writing, to Signature, and to Witneſſes, which brought in Cavils, and Actions grounded upon Punctilious Errors in Writing, Miſtakes in Expreſſion, which in much Writing muſt ſometimes happen, either by Háſte, Weakneſs, or, perhaps, by Fraud of Conveyancers, and with Deſign

to

to leave Matter of Contentions, by which they ſubſiſt as Phyſicians by Diſeaſes.

Notwithſtanding all theſe Arts of the Prince, and Induſtry of his Miniſters, to introduce the *Norman* Language in *England*, yet all was fruſtrated by the Over-ballance of Numbers in the Nations, in Proportion to the Strangers, and aſſiſted by a general Averſion in the *Engliſh*, to change their Language, which they thought would be ſucceeded by that of their Laws and Liberties: So that in this very Reign, inſtead of the *Engliſh* ſpeaking *Norman*, the *Normans* began generally by Force of Intermarriages, ordinary Commerce and Converſation, to uſe the *Engliſh* Tongue, which has ever ſince continued and compoſed, the main Body of our Language, though changed like

others, by Mixture of many new Words and Phraſes, not only introduced by this great Revolution, but by the Uſes and Accidents of each ſucceeding Age.

It ſeems very remarkable, and very different what happened in *Scotland* about this Time, and upon this Subject; for upon the great Recourſe of *Engliſh* Nobles, and Gentlemen into *Scotland*, ſeeking Refuge from the firſt Dangers and Terrors of the *Norman* Conqueſt; and afterwards of many more who fled there in Purſuit of *Edgar*'s Pretenſions, and joyned with the *Scots* in Two Invaſions of *England*; but chiefly upon *Malcom*'s fond Affection of his *Engliſh* Wife, Siſter to Prince *Edgar*, his learning and commonly uſing or favouring her Language, the uſual Compliance and Conformity of Courtiers to the Cuſtoms

Cuſtoms of their Prince, and the general Humour of Kindneſs in the *Scots*, at that time to the Perſon or Rights of *Edgar*, and to all his Adherents, that loſt their own Country to follow his Fortunes; the *Engliſh* Language grew in this King's Reign to be generally ſpoken, not only in the Court of *Scotland*, but in ſeveral Counties thereunto adjacent, and among moſt of the Nobles in remoter Provinces, and ſo it has ever ſince remained, as have many *Engliſh* Families in thoſe Parts, habituated, and with Time naturalized among them; and the ancient barbarous *Scotch* Tongue has been left current, only in the more Northern or North-weſt and mountainous Parts of that Kingdom, and in the Iſlands that ſeem to have been firſt and moſt entirely poſſeſſed by the *Scyths* or

*Scots*, who ſo long ago invaded and conquered the Northern Parts of *Britain* and *Ireland*.

The contrary of this unuſual Change in Language, appears to have ſucceeded in *England*, ſince in a little time nothing remained of the *Norman* Language in common Uſe, beſides the Tranſlation of our Common Law, which though deduced from the ancient *Saxon* Streams, yet the Sound, and Forms, and Practice came to be *Norman*; like Rivers which ſtill run from their Original Sources, but yet often change their Taſte, from the Soils through which they take their Courſe, and ſometimes from Accidents of great Innundations, which for the preſent change them, but leave them to return to their natural Streams. A ſingular and inſtructive Example, how

ſtrange

ſtrange a Difference there is in the Compliance of a Nation, with the Humour of a Prince they love, or of one they fear.

Beſides theſe Changes in the Language of our Laws, and the Forms of Pleas, which were generally diſaffected by the *Engliſh* Subjects; this *Norman* King, either upon Pretence of Juſtice and Piety, or elſe of Neceſſity and Safety, aboliſhed ſeveral ancient *Saxon* Inſtitutions, and made ſeveral new, which how reaſonable, or how uſeful ſoever, yet bred ill Blood among the Nobles and Clergy of *England*, though the People contented themſelves with the Continuance of their ancient Laws, and thought all they did or ſuffered for the King's Service, well rewarded, while they might preſerve what they called the Laws of *Edward*

the Confeſſor: And the King was ſo wiſe, as often to renew his Oath to maintain them, for the general Satisfaction of the People.

For the reſt, he took all Juriſdiction and Judgment in civil Cauſes wholly out of the Hands of the Biſhops, where it had been placed in the whole *Saxon* Succeſſion, after their Converſion to Chriſtianity. And reſtrained the Clergy to the Exerciſe and Adminiſtration of their Eccleſiaſtical Power. He endeavoured to aboliſh Two ancient Forms of Tryal uſed among the *Saxons* with great Reverence, even during their Chriſtian Worſhip, though they were but Remainders of their old Pagan Superſtition, but ſo rooted in the Opinion of the People, as not to be diſpoſſeſſed by new Reaſon or Religion: Theſe were the Tryals *Ordeal*, and of *Camp-fight*.

*ſight.* The firſt was either by Fire or by Water, and uſed only in Criminal Caſes, where the Accuſation was ſtrong, the Suſpicions great, but no Proofs evident. In that of Fire, the Perſon accuſed, was brought into an open Place upon even Ground, ſeveral Plowſhares heated red hot were laid before them, at unequal Diſtances, over which they were to walk blindfold, and if they eſcaped any Harm, were adjudged innocent; if their Feet were burned by treading upon the hot Irons, they were condemned as guilty. In the other of Water, the Accuſed were thrown into the Water, if they ſunk immediately they were eſteemed innocent; and guilty if they ſwam, either becauſe it ſeemed againſt the Nature of heavy Bodies, or that the clear Element would not re-

ceive them, but rejected them as polluted Persons. The first Tryal was for those of better Condition, and the other for those of inferiour, and both were chiefly used upon Accusations of Unchastity, of Poysoning, or of Sorcery.

These Tryals, though grounded upon no Reason, yet were thought approved by long Experience, and the rather, I suppose, because any succeeding Proofs of Innocence were as difficult to find, as any precedent Evidence of Guilt. And they were commonly called the Judgments of God, and performed with solemn Oraisons, and other Ceremonies that amused, or rather enchanted the ignorant People into an Opinion of their being Sacred as well as Just.

The Tryals of *Camp-fight* were performed by single Combat, in Lists

Liſts appointed for that Purpoſe, between the Accuſer and Accuſed, and were uſual in Actions both real and criminal, where no evident Proof of Fact appeared from Witneſſes, or other Circumſtances: The Victor was acquitted, and the Vanquiſhed, if not killed upon the Field, was condemned. Theſe were performed with great Solemnities, and either in Preſence of the King, who granted the Combate, or of certain Judges, by him appointed for that particular Caſe: Both theſe ſorts of Tryals this King aboliſhed as unchriſtian and unjuſt, and reduced all Cauſes to the Judgment of Equals, or of a Jury of Twelve Neighbours, and by legal Forms: Yet the laſt was ſome few times uſed in ſucceeding Reigns.

In

In the Beginnings of his Reign the Kingdom had been much infeſted by Outlaws, and by Robbers, and many *Normans* were ſecretly murthered by the Hatred of the *Engliſh*, as they paſſed alone upon the Ways or the Fields, eſpecially in the Night. To remedy this laſt Miſchief, he impoſed a heavy Fine upon the Hundred, where the Body of any *Norman* ſhould be found ſlain, whether any Diſcovery were made or no of the Author or Complices of the Fact. For all Rapes and Robberies, he cauſed them to be puniſhed ſo ſeverely by cruel Mutilations of Members, and Hardſhips of Labour, as left them miſerable Spectacles, or Warnings of their Crimes, during the reſt of their Lives. By the Rigour of theſe Courſes, and cutting off the chief Cauſe of ſuch Offences, which

grow

grow from Idleneſs and Expences; he reduced the whole Realm to ſuch Security, that 'tis recorded in his Time, how a fair Maiden with a Purſe of Gold in her Hand, might have travelled through the Realm, without any Danger offered to her Honour, or her Money.

Beſides, to prevent any Crimes that might be committed by Favour or Encouragement of the Night; he ordered a Bell to be rung in each Pariſh, at Eight a Clock in the Winter, and Nine in the Summer; after which every Man was to cover his Fire, and ſtir no more abroad that Night: And this was for that Reaſon called, the *Corfew*, or *Couvrefew* Bell.

For the Safety of his State, he erected ſeveral Caſtles in many Places, moſt convenient, of the Kingdom, among which was the Tower

er of *London*, and *New-Caſtle* upon *Tyne* (either built, or by this King much enlarged) and garriſoned them by *Norman* or *Engliſh* Soldiers, but all ſuch as he moſt truſted, and who were ready in Arms upon all Occaſions. Yet theſe Forts were look'd upon by the *Engliſh* as unneceſſary in the Times of Peace, and as Bridles upon the Liberties of the People, rather than Preventions of Dangers to the Crown.

After theſe Inſtitutions he applied himſelf to the Increaſe, Order and Eſtabliſhment of his Revenue, and having (as he believed) ſatisfied the People in general, by the Confirmation of the ancient and beloved Laws; he thought he might be bolder with the Clergy, whom he knew to be generally his Enemies, and whoſe Clamours he the leſs feared, from his own known

Piety,

Piety, in frequenting Divine Worſhip, in building and endowing ſeveral Monaſteries, in Preſents to many Churches, both in *England* and *Normandy*, but eſpecially in great Treaſures which he ſent frequently to *Rome*. Therefore, upon Pretence of his Enemies in the Two laſt Revolts (and ſuch as were deſigned to be their Complices) having conveyed their Plate, Money, and Jewels into the ſeveral Monaſteries throughout the Kingdom; he cauſed all the rich Abbies to be ſearched, their Money, Plate, and Jewels which were not neceſſary, or of common Uſe in Divine Service, to be ſeized; and thereby brought at once a mighty Treaſure into his Coffers, but an inveterate Hatred of the Clergy upon his Perſon and Reign; and this was the laſt of thoſe Actions that by the envenomed

nomed Pens of the Monkiſh Writers of that Age, left ſuch a Charge upon the Memory of this Prince, by the Imputation of Cruelty, Oppreſſion, Violence, Exaction, and the Breach or Change of Laws of the Kingdom, either Humane or Divine; though the ſame Authors little conſider how ill this agrees with the high Characters they themſelves give of his Perſonal Qualities and Vertues. Nor is it probable that ſo vicious Actions ſhould proceed from ſo vertuous Diſpoſitions, or that ſo noble and excellent Qualities of any Prince ſhould be eſteemed by the preſent Age, or celebrated to Poſterity, which had been accompanied by cruel, infamous, or depraved Actions during his Life.

Having with theſe Spoils of the Clergy, as well as by the many For-

Forfeitures of the revolted Nobles, repleniſhed his Coffers for the preſent, he extended the Care of his Revenue, not only to what might arrive in his own Life, but alſo in the Times of ſucceeding Kings. To this End he ſent Commiſſioners into all the ſeveral Counties of the whole Realm, who took an exact Survey, and diſcribed in a Genſual Roll or Book, all the Lands, Titles and Tenures throughout the whole Kingdom. In this were diſtinctly ſet down, not only every Barony, each Knight's Fee, every Plow-Land, but alſo what Owners, by what Tenures, at what Rents or Duties they held, and what Stock they were poſſeſſed of, and how many *Villans* upon their reſpective Eſtates. All Lands that held anciently of the Crown, or were by this King diſpoſed

poſed upon Forfeitures, he ſubjected to the uſual Tenures of Baronies, or Knight's Fees, reſerving in all the Dominion in chief to himſelf, ſome Quitrents, or Fines upon Death and Alienation; and likewiſe, the Cuſtody of all Heirs of ſuch Lands as were left under Age, and the Diſpoſal of their Fortunes, beſides what was aſſigned for their Maintenance, till they came to Years of diſpoſing their Eſtates and themſelves.

This Book was compoſed after Two old Examples of the ſame kind, in the Times of *Ethelbert* and *Alfred*, and was laid up as Sacred in the Church of *Wincheſter*; and for that Reaſon, as graver Authors ſay, was called *Liber Domus Dei*, and by Abbreviation, *Domeſday Book*. The vulgar Account is, That the Name was derived from the

the Nature, and ſo called, becauſe every Man was to receive his Doom by that Book, upon any Diſpute about the Value, Tenure, Payments, or Services of his Lands, upon Collection of the King's ordinary Revenue, or the Raiſing of any extraordinary Taxes or Impoſitions. And to make a Preſedent for the future, or to ſatiſfie the great Expences the King had been at, for the Compiling this great Roll of the Kingdom, ſix Shillings was raiſed upon every Plow-Land, which made the Deſign of it leſs agreeable to the People; though every Man's Right thereby received a new Evidence, and no Injuſtice was complained of, in the Digeſtion of ſo difficult a Work, and of ſo various a Nature. By this Means, the King came to an eaſie and exact Knowledge of

his whole conſtant Revenue, and ſo proportioned it to his Expences, and the neceſſary Cares of having always a Fond or Reſerve of preſent Treaſure in his Coffers; that after this Time we never find him plunged in any Difficulties, for want of Money to ſupply many great Occaſions that enſued in his Reign, nor tempted to impoſe any Taxes upon his Subjects, or other Duties than what were common and known, and paid without Preſſure or Diſcontent among the Commonalty of the Realm; ſo as after all theſe Inſtitutions, he paſſed ſeveral Years in great Tranquility at Home, as well as Honour from all his Neighbour Princes.

About the thirteenth Year of his Reign, he went into *Normandy*, leaving his Brother *Odon*, Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and created Earl of *Kent*,

*Kent*, his Vicegerent in *England*; and little apprehending any Storm after ſo long a Fit of fair Weather, or that he had left any ill Blood behind him, that was like to gather to a Head, with ſuch an Inflammation, and ſo dangerous Symptoms, as ſoon after appeared. But no Condition of Humane Life is ever perfectly ſecure, nor any Force of Greatneſs, or of Prudence, beyond the Reach of Envy, and the Blows of Fortune. Princes as well as private Men, are often in moſt Danger at thoſe Times, and in thoſe Parts, they think themſelves the ſafeſt; as ſtrong Towers are ſometimes taken on thoſe ſides that are thought impregnable, and ſo left undefended or little regarded. This conquering King eſteemed himſelf now at Eaſe, for the remainder of his Life, and not only

ſafe in his own Strength, but the Satisfaction of his Subjects. The *Engliſh* he had pleaſed in general, by the Preſervation of their ancient Laws; the braveſt and warmeſt Blood of their Nobles was drawn in the Battle of *Haſtings*, or the Wars with *Scotland*; their Power was weakened by ſo many Confiſcations, and the Retreat of many more into *Scotland* and *Ireland*. The *Normans* were ſtrong and numerous in *England*, and were his own by Birth and by Intereſt; the Ballance of theſe Two Parties ſeemed the Safety of the whole; and it was not to be imagined, that both ſhould combine in any Danger to the Crown. Beſides, there was left no Pretenſion of any better Right or Title than his own, ſince *Edgar* had laid down his, not only in Shew, but with firm

firm Reſolutions never to reſume them.

But many of the *Engliſh* Nobles ſtill hated the Name of a Conqueſt, reſented the Change of Forms and Language in their Laws, the Introduction of any new Cuſtoms, but eſpecially the Rigour of the Foreſt Laws, which they knew to be Arbitrary; and eſteemed not only a Reſtraint of their innocent Liberties, but an Indignity in particular to themſelves. Some of the chief *Norman* Lords, who had obtained great Poſſeſſions by the King's Bounty, and the Confiſcations of the *Engliſh* being now inveſted in their Lands and their Titles, began to grow fond of their Laws, as the ſafeſt Tenure; and though they had gained their great Eſtates by the Favour of the King, yet they were not wil-

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firm Reſolutions never to reſume them.

But many of the *Engliſh* Nobles ſtill hated the Name of a Conqueſt, reſented the Change of Forms and Language in their Laws, the Introduction of any new Cuſtoms, but eſpecially the Rigour of the Foreſt Laws, which they knew to be Arbitrary; and eſteemed not only a Reſtraint of their innocent Liberties, but an Indignity in particular to themſelves. Some of the chief *Norman* Lords, who had obtained great Poſſeſſions by the King's Bounty, and the Confiſcations of the *Engliſh* being now inveſted in their Lands and their Titles, began to grow fond of their Laws, as the ſafeſt Tenure; and though they had gained their great Eſtates by the Favour of the King, yet they were not wil-

ling to hold them at his Pleaſure, and ſo joyned with the *Engliſh* Nobles in the Complaints of too great Power, exerciſed by the King, and the Jealouſies of greater yet deſigned, to the Prejudice of the ancient Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, and Diminution of the Authority, or Dependances of the Nobles. Some of both Nations, and equally ambitious Spirits, who had been moſt favoured and advanced by the King, yet valuing their own Merits too high, or their Rewards too low, thought they had nothing, becauſe they had not all they pretended, eſteemed the King's Favour, or Bounty to any others, as Injury to themſelves, and were as unſatisfied with what they had gained, as others with what they had loſt.

Theſe

Theſe Diſpoſitions floating at firſt in the Minds of ſeveral great Nobles, both *Engliſh* and *Norman*, and enflamed by ſuch of the Eccleſiaſticks, who had Credit in the great Families of both Nations, grew at length to downright Conſpiracy, of diſpoſſeſſing the King of his Crown, and introducing the *Danes*, who were allied to many great Lords in *England*, and were eſteemed by the *Normans* of the ſame Race with their Anceſtors. The chief of this Conſpiracy were the Earls of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, of greateſt Power among the *Engliſh* Nobility; *Fetz-Auber*, a *Norman*, of near Kindred to the King, and who had aſſiſted him with Forty Ships, upon his *Engliſh* Expedition, and been recompenced with mighty Poſſeſſions in *England*, and created Earl of *Hereford*; The Earl

*Waltheof*, who had been pardoned his Revolt, upon the *Scotch* Invaſion, married to the King's Neice, and ever ſince intimately truſted, as well as favoured by the King. Theſe entred ſecretly into Intelligence with *Swain*, King of *Denmark*, and with *Harold*'s Sons, who were ſtill refuged in *Ireland*: The Firſt engaged to Invade the Northern Parts with a Navy of Three Hundred Sail; the Laſt, by the Aſſiſtance of *Drone*, King of *Ireland*, to attempt the Weſtern Coaſts with Sixty Ships, and the diſcontented Lords, to make a ſtrong Inſurrection in ſome of the Northern Provinces, upon Approach of the *Daniſh* Fleet, which was concerted to be ſoon after the King's intended Journey into *Normandy*.

Theſe

Theſe Meaſures were laid with ſuch Caution, and purſued with ſuch Secrecy, that all was ready to be executed, before the King in *Normandy*, or his Miniſters in *England*, had either Notice or Suſpicion of any ſuch Dangers, or Deſigns. *Fitz-Auber* had asked the King's Leave ſome Months before his *Norman* Journey, to marry his Siſter to the Earl of *Norfolk*, and pretended ſome ſmall Diſcontent at his Refuſal. Not long after his Departure, he declared the Marriage, and the Day appointed to conſummate it in *Norfolk* with great Solemnity, and the Recourſe of the neareſt Relations, and moſt intimate Friends on both ſides, among whom were the Earl *Waltheof*, and *Euſtace*, Earl of *Bologne*, who came over on Purpoſe, to aſſiſt at the Conſultations here deſigned.

At

At this meeting all was agreed; in what Parts of the Kingdom, under what Leaders the ſeveral Inſurrections ſhould be made, upon what Pretences, and the Time appointed to be when the *Daniſh* Fleet ſhould appear upon the Coaſt.

But ſome Delays intervening, which are fatal to all Conſpiracies that are truſted into many Hands, this was diſcovered ſome Days before the *Danes* arrived, but by whom of the Accomplices is left uncertain; though ſome write, that it was by Earl *Waltheof*, upon the Conſcience of ſo great an Ingratitude to the King.

After the full and particular Diſcovery of the whole Plot, and all the chief Conſpirators; *Oden* the Vicegerent, with the Aſſiſtance and Advice of the King's Council,

Council, immediately diſpatched away ſeveral Parties of the King's beſt Troops, into the ſeveral Parts where the Inſurrections were intended to begin, ſeized upon many of the Conſpirators, before others had Notice of the Diſcovery, broke the reſt before they could draw to a Head; took Earl *Waltheof*, and *Fitz-Auber* Priſoners, who were beheaded upon this Occaſion, and many others impriſoned. Whether this Execution was by the King's Command out of *Normandy*, or by the Rigor of his Brother *Odon*, and upon Pretence of Neceſſity in ſo dangerous a Conjuncture, is not recorded; but 'tis agreed, that theſe Two were the only Nobles that were executed in *England*, during the Reign of *William* the Conqueror, notwithſtanding ſo many Revolts, and ſo much Power

er to puniſh and revenge them; which ſerves to make up that Character of Clemency of Nature, that is allowed this Prince, among his other Vertues, even by thoſe Writers who are ſevereſt upon his Memory.

Both the *Danes* and the *Iriſh* Fleets were upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts, when they firſt received the News of their Confederates Diſcovery and Diſaſters, upon which they returned to *Denmark*, and to *Ireland*; and after this Time, the *Danes* never again attempted any Invaſion upon *England*, nor was this Conqueror any more infeſted, or diſturbed by any of his *Engliſh* Subjects, during the reſt of his Reign; finding the Conſpiracy wholly ſuppreſſed, and the Kingdom in perfect Tranquility upon his Return, which he had yet

haſtened

haſtened out of *Normandy*, upon the Intelligence of his Danger in *England*, and Ignorance how deep it was rooted, or where it might end.

Nor was it eaſie to Conjecture, ſince it was believed by wiſe Men in that Age, that the Weakneſs, and ill Succeſs of this Conſpiracy proceeded chiefly from the Want of ſome popular Pretenſion, that might have raiſed a Commotion of the People in Favour of the Lords; and, that if this had been deſigned in Defence of *Edgar*'s known Rights to the Crown, and ſpirited by that Prince, at the Head of ſo many *Engliſh* and *Norman* Lords, as were engaged in it, the Throne had been endangered by this laſt Shake. But the unfortunate Prince *Edgar* had made his firſt Pretenſions too late, and his laſt

laſt Submiſſions too ſoon; and the *Daniſh* Title was hated by the Commons of *England*, though favoured by many of the Nobles, and thereby wanted the Foundation, proper and neceſſary to raiſe any firm Building. Thus the Infelicity of ſome Princes may be occaſioned only by ill timing their Councils, when to attempt, and when to deſiſt, in the juſteſt Endeavours; and the Greatneſs of others may be raiſed and preſerved by unforeſeen Accidents, where the greateſt Reach of Foreſight and Conduct might have failed. For had *Edgar* been at Liberty to purſue his Rights, upon this Conjunction of the *Engliſh* and *Norman* Nobility, he might probably have gained the Crown; and had not ſome of the chief Complices diſcovered the Conſpiracy, the Conque-

ror

ror might as probably have loſt it.

However theſe Fortunes came to attend him, thus far of his Reign, yet here the Curtain may be drawn over the happy Scenes of this Prince's Life; For the next that muſt open, will repreſent him in the Decline of his Age, imbroiled in Domeſtick Quarrels, which could neither end in Glory, nor in Gains, aſſaulted by his own Children, oppoſed by his Native Subjects, forced to uſe Strangers to reduce them to Duty and Obedience, after two dangerous Revolts; and when theſe Troubles were appeaſed, after much Anguiſh of Mind, and many Dangers, engaged by a trivial Accident, and without any Deſign in a Foreign War with a powerful Prince, which, though purſued with his uſual

ſual Vigour and Fortune, it firſt coſt him his Health, and at laſt his Life.

*William* the Conqueror had by his Wife *Matild*, Daughter to *Baldwin*, Count of *Flanders*, Four Sons, *Robert*, *Richard*, *William*, and *Henry*, beſides ſeveral Daughters. *Richard* was a Prince of the greateſt Hopes, but unfortunately killed by a Stag, while he was Hunting in the New Foreſt; his untimely Fall was much lamented by the King, but leſs by the People, who interpreted it as a Judgment upon him, for the mighty Waſtes he had made to extend the Bounds of that Foreſt, and for the Rigour and Oppreſſion of the Foreſt Laws. The other Three ſurvived their Father, but with very different Fortunes, as well as Merits, and very unequally diſtributed.

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The King, before his Expedition into *England*, had promiſed his eldeſt Son *Robert* the Dukedom of *Normandy*, in caſe he conquered the Kingdom he then pretended; this Promiſe was made before the King of *France*, and challenged by *Robert* after the King's firſt Eſtabliſhment upon the *Engliſh* Throne. But the King, though he denied not the Promiſe he had made, yet long delayed the Performance, upon Pretence of his unſettled State in *England*, from the Diſcontents of his Nobles and the *Scotch* Invaſions, which made it neceſſary for him to keep *Normandy* as a Retreat upon any great Misfortune, or Revolution in *England*. Duke *Robert* ſeemed content with theſe Reaſons, whilſt they were juſtified by the Appearances of any Dangers in *England*,

but perceiving they were ceaſed, and yet the Delays continued, he grew at length impatient, and about the Fourteenth Year of the King's Reign, aſſumed the Government of *Normandy*, as Sovereign; and in his own Right, cauſed the Barons to ſwear Fealty to him, as to the Duke, and not as his Father's Lieutenant, and was received and obeyed by the *Normans*, who grew weary of a ſubordinate Government, and thought they deſerved the Preſence of their Prince among them, which they had enjoyed ſince the firſt Eſtabliſhment of their Poſſeſſions in *France*.

Beſides, *Robert* was generally beloved, as a Prince courteous, generous, and brave, though withal, ambitious, unquiet, and uncertain; yet theſe Diſpoſitions, both of

Prince and People, and had alone induced him to engage in ſo bold a Reſolution, with ſuch a Breach of his Duty and his Truſt, without the Practices and Inſtigations of the King of *France*, who grown jealous of King *William*'s Greatneſs, and envious of his Felicity, found no better Way of leſſening both, than to kindle this Fire in his own Houſe; and thereby the moſt ſenſibly to diſquiet his Mind, as well as to disjoynt his State, and divide his Power. He therefore, not only encouraged *Robert*, but combined with him in this Attempt, and engaged to ſupport him with his Forces, if his Father diſputed longer, the Juſtice of his Claim.

The King, though at firſt diſcompoſed at the News of this Inſolence in his Son, yet believing it had no deeper Root, but what

would ſoon wither or be cut off, by his Preſence in *Normandy*, gathered immediately what Forces he could raiſe, and with an Army of his *Engliſh* Subjects, ſailed over now to invade *Normandy*, as he had done before to invade *England* with his *Normans*. A ſtrange Revolution, to befal one Prince, in ſo ſhort a Period of Time, and which made as great a Change in his Diſpoſitions as his Fortunes; for the great Alacrity and Faithfulneſs which the *Engliſh* expreſſed towards him in this Expedition, gained ſo far upon his Affections and Confidence, that in the reſt of his Reign and his ſucceeding Wars, he ſeemed to place his chief Truſt in the Courage and Loyalty of his *Engliſh* Subjects.

Duke *Robert*, informed of his Father's Preparations, neglected not his

his own, and though ſurprized at the Suddenneſs of his Arrival, to which the Winds had conſpired, he could not oppoſe his Landing; yet ſoon after he was in the Field at the Head of a brave *Norman* Army, and of Two thouſand Men at Arms which the King of *France* had ſent to his Aſſiſtance. With theſe Forces he marched againſt the King, fell upon his Vanguard, and by the Succeſs of an Ambuſh, he had laid in an advantageous Paſs; he broke them, killed ſome, and put the reſt to Flight; then he advanced againſt the main Body, where the King commanded, and by an unnatural Chance, he charged his old Father with ſuch Fury, that by the Stroak of his Launce, he wounded him in the Arm, and overthrew him to the Ground. The King calling out upon his Fall, his

Son immediately knew his Voice, and ſtung upon the ſuddain, with the Conſcience of his Crime and his Duty, he leaped from his Horſe, raiſed his Father up from the Ground, fell down upon his Knees, begged Pardon of his Offence, with Offers upon it, to return to his Duty and Obedience. The King moved by the ſame Force of Nature, received his Submiſſions, forgave him, and embracing him, ended an Adventure in Tears of Joy, which had begun in Blood. The Armies were as eaſily reconciled as their Leaders, and all together marched to *Rouen*, where the King was received with all Demonſtrations of Joy, and the Duke complimented upon his happy Reconcilement with his Father; nor were thoſe the laſt in this Croud of Rejoycers, who had been the Chief in pro-

promoting the Quarrel between them.

The King made no long Stay in *Normandy*, diſſembling the Knowledge, or Reſentment of what Part the *French* King had played in this Affair, but after having re-eſtabliſhed the Quiet and Order of the Province, returned with his whole Forces into *England*, left his Son in the Government of *Normandy*, truſting to his Duty, and the Loyalty of his Subjects there, as if nothing had paſſed to give him the leaſt Suſpicions of either. A true Strain of the noble and fearleſs Nature of this Prince, who was rather made to ſurmount all Dangers he encountred, by brave Actions and judicious Councils, than either to invite or anticipate his Misfortunes, by Diſtruſt and vain Apprehenſions, which are but the

Diſtractions of weak and timorous Minds.

Yet this Sincereneſs and Confidence of the King had not the Return they deſerved; for Duke *Robert* having once taſted the Sovereign Power, could not long digeſt any Dependance upon another Will, and lying ſtill open to the Practices of *France*, upon his Levity and Ambition, relapſed the next Year into his former Diſtemper, and aſſumed again the Sovereignty of *Normandy*, and as Duke thereof in his own Right, which was again acknowledged and obeyed by the *Normans*.

The King upon the News of this ſecond Defection in his Son and his Subjects, fell into great Paſſion, and in it is ſaid to have curſed his Son, and the Hour wherein he begat him; But ſoon returning to himſelf, with his uſual Judgment and

and Compoſure of Mind, gave preſent Orders for preparing a much greater Army and Navy, than he had uſed in laſt Years Expedition; and though both were ſhattered by great Storms, he met with at Sea, yet upon his Arrival in *Normandy*, either the Fame of his Forces, or the Lightneſs of his Son's Diſpoſitions, or Remorſe of his Duty, prevailed with Duke *Robert*, to offer again his Submiſſions, and Obedience to his Commands. The King again received them, pardoned both his Son and his revolted Subjects, but forced now to more Caution than he had uſed before, after having ſettled once more, the Peace and Quiet of *Normandy*, and placed the Government in ſafer Hands, he took his Son with him into *England*, and imployed him in the hard rough Wars of *Scotland*, againſt *Malcolm*, who

who upon the King's Abſence, and Confidence of being long detained by the *Norman* Revolt, and Diverſion of *France*, had taken Occaſion to paſs the Borders with an Army, and ravage the Northern Provinces of *England*.

Though Duke *Robert* gained no great Honour by this Expedition, yet the King gained his End: For the *Scotch* diſheartned by his unexpected Return, and more by his perfect Reconcilement with his Son, returned Home, upon the Approach of the *Engliſh* Army, and renewed the Peace, which laſted the reſt of the Two Kings Lives.

About the ſame time, incenſed againſt the *Welſh*, for many Inroads and Spoils upon the Frontier Counties; he ſent an Army againſt them, ſubdued the plain and acceſſible Parts of their Country, drove them

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to the fast Holds of their Mountains, forced them to sue for a Peace, which he granted upon Homage done him by their Prince, and upon Hostages given for Performance of the other Conditions.

This fortunate and victorious King seemed now to have passed all the Tempestuous Seasons of his Life, and secure of Repose for what remained, which was necessary, or most agreeable to the great Decline of his Age. He was at Peace with all his Neighbours, obeyed and honoured by his Subjects, feared by his Enemies, and the Troubles of his Family were wholly appeased; so that it was hard for any Man to conjecture from what Side any new Storm should arise. But the Decrees of Heaven are wrapped up in the Clouds, and the Events of future Things, hidden

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in the Dark, from the Eyes of Mortal Men. The wiſeſt Councils may be diſcompoſed by the ſmalleſt Accidents, and the ſecureſt Peace of States and Kingdoms may be diſturbed by the lighteſt Paſſions, as well as the deep Deſigns of thoſe who govern them: For, though the wiſe Reflections of the beſt Hiſtorians, as well as the common Reaſonings of private Men, are apt to aſcribe the Actions and Councils of Princes to Intereſts or Reaſons of State; yet, whoever can trace them to their true Spring, will be often forced to derive them from the ſame Paſſions and Perſonal Diſpoſitions which govern the Affairs of private Lives, as will be evident in the Sequel of this King's Reign.

The *Normans* were deſirous to have a Prince of their Race reſide among them; the King was unwilling

ling to venture again, the ill Conſequences of his Son *Robert*'s Ambition or Inconſtancy, and therefore ſent him over into *Normandy*, but joyned in Commiſſion with his youngeſt Son *Henry*, whoſe Duty and Affection he moſt relied on, both to obſerve the Actions, and temper the Levity of his Eldeſt Brother.

Theſe Two Princes agreed better than is uſual to Aſſociates in Power, and governing the Province with Moderation and Prudence, reduced Affairs there to ſuch Order and Tranquility, that having little Buſineſs at Home, they went to ſeek ſome Diverſion Abroad, and made a Viſit to the King of *France* then at *Conſtance*, who received them with great Honour and Kindneſs; and as was thought, not without Deſign of renewing old Practices

ctices with Duke *Robert*, to his Father's Prejudice: Whatever Affairs might buſie the Thoughts of that King and the Duke, thoſe of *Lewis* the young *Dauphine*, and Prince *Henry* were taken up with the common Entertainments of Youth, and of Leiſure, Love, Hunting, Play, and other ſuch Divertiſements, wherein the Similitude of Age and of Cuſtoms made them conſtant Companions. It happened one Evening, that the *Dauphine* playing at Cheſs, at the Prince's Lodging, loſt a great many Games, and much Money to Prince *Henry*, and grew thereupon firſt into ill Humour, and at length into ill Language, which being returned by the Prince, the *Dauphine* fell into Paſſion, called him Son of a Baſtard, and threw ſome of the Cheſsmen at his Head: Upon which Prince *Henry* en-

enraged, took up the Chess-board, and struck the *Dauphine* with such Fury on the Head, that he laid him bleeding on the Ground, and had killed him if his Brother *Robert* had not retained him, and made him sensible how much more it concerned him, to make his escape than pursue his Revenge; and thereupon they went down immediately, took Horse, and by the Help of their Speed, or their own good Fortune, got safe to *Pontoise* before they could be reached by the *French* that pursued them.

The King of *France*, exasperated by this Accident and Indignity to his Son, which revived an inveterate Malice, or Envy he had against King *William*, first demanded Satisfaction, but at the same time prepared for Revenge, both by raising an Army to invade *Normandy*, and

and taking private Meaſures with Duke *Robert*, to diveſt his Brother *Henry* of his Share in the Government, and leave the Dominion of that Dutchy to the Duke, according to his former Pretenſions, grounded upon his Father's Promiſe; wherein the King of *France*, as a Witneſs, ſtill pretended to be concerned.

The King of *England* ſeeing the War inevitable, enters upon it with his uſual Vigour, and with incredible Celerity tranſporting a brave *Engliſh* Army, invades *France*, and takes ſeveral Towns in *Poictou*, whilſt the *French* took the City of *Vernon*; By which Hoſtilities on both ſides, the firſt War began between *England* and *France*, which ſeemed afterwards to have been entailed upon the Poſterity and Succeſſors of theſe Two Princes, for ſo many Ge-

Generations, to have drawn more noble Blood, and been attended with more memorable Atchievements, than any other National Quarrel we read of, in any ancient or modern Story.

King *William*, after taking of ſeveral Towns, and ſpoiling much Country in *Poictou* and *Xantonge*, returned to *Rouen*, where, by the Benignity of his own Nature, and Levity of his Son's, he was the Third time reconciled to Duke *Robert*; and thereby diſappointed thoſe Hopes, the King of *France* had conceived, from his Practices with that Prince; (and, as ſome write, with his Brother *Henry* too) and defeated his Pretext of aſſiſting his Right in the Dominion of *Normandy*.

But *Philip* bent upon this War, by other Incentives, than thoſe which

appeared from the Favour of Duke *Robert*'s Pretenſions, or Revenge of the *Dauphine*'s Injury, and moved, both with the Jealouſie of the King's Greatneſs, and the Envy of his Glory and Felicity, reſolved to proſecute obſtinately the Quarrel he had raſhly begun, and not eſteeming the ſudden though violent Motions of a youthful Heat between the two Princes, a Ground ſufficient to bear the Weight of a formal and declared War; upon the News and Spight of Duke *Robert*'s Reconciliation with his Father, he ſent to the King to demand Homage of him both for *Normandy* and *England*: King *William* anſwered, that he was ready to do him the Homage accuſtomed for *Normandy*, but would do him none for *England*, which he held only of God and his Sword. The

*French*

*French* King hereupon declared open War againſt him, which was begun and purſued with great Heats and Animoſities on both ſides, with equal Forces, but unequal Fortune; which favoured either the Juſtice of the King's Cauſe, the Valour of his Troops, or the Conduct of their Leader upon all Encounters,

He marched into *France*, took *Nantes* and burnt it, with many Villages about it, ſaying, That to deſtroy the Waſps, their Neſts muſt be burnt. In the Heat of this Action, and by that of the Fires, which he too near approached, he fell into a Diſtemper which forced him to retire his Army, and return to *Rouen*, where he lay ſick for ſome time, with ill Symptoms, that gave his Friends Apprehenſion, and Hopes to his Enemies.

During the Expectation of this Event, both ſides were quiet, by a ſort of tacite and voluntary Truce between them. The King of *France* talking of his Sickneſs, and mocking at the Corpulency, to which he was grown of late Years, ſaid, King *William* was gone only to lay his great Belly at *Rouen*, and that he doubted he muſt be at Charge to ſet up Lights at his uprising. The King of *England* being told this Scoff, ſent King *Philip* Word, That he was ready to ſit up after his lying in, and that when he was Churched, he would ſave him the Charge of ſetting up Lights, and come himſelf, and light a Thouſand Fires in *France*.

No Injuries are ſo ſenſible to Mankind in general, as thoſe of Scorn, and no Quarrels purſued between Princes, with ſo much Sharp-

Sharpneſs and Violence, as thoſe which ariſe from perſonal Animoſities or private Paſſions, to which they are ſubject like other Mortal Men. The King recovered, gathers the greateſt Forces he could raiſe, both of *Engliſh* and *Normans*, marches into the Iſle of *France*, with Fire and Spoil, where-ever he came, approches within Sight of *Paris*, where that King was retired: There King *William* ſent him word, that he was up and abroad, and would be glad to ſee him abroad too.

But the *French* King reſolved to let this Fury paſs, and appeared not in the Field, which was left to the Mercy and Ravage of his Enemies. The King riding about to obſerve his Advantages, and give his Orders, and ſtraining his Horſe to leap a Ditch in his Way, bruiſed

ſed the Bottom of his Belly againſt the Pommel of his Saddle, with ſuch a Weight, and ſo much Pain, as gave him a Relapſe of his Illneſs ſo lately recovered, forced him to march his Army back into *Normandy*, and to go himſelf to *Rouen*. Here his Bruiſe turned to a Rupture, and his Sickneſs encreaſing with the Anguiſh of his Wound, gave too ſoon and true Apprehenſions of his Danger: Yet he languiſhed for ſome time, which he made uſe of to do many Acts of great Charity, and give other Teſtimonies of Piety and Reſignation to the Will of God, as well as to diſpoſe the Succeſſion and Affairs of his State; leaving by his Teſtament the Dutchy of *Normandy* to his eldeſt Son *Robert*, the Kingdom of *England* to *William* his ſecond Son, and all his Treaſures, which

which were very great, to *Henry* his third. After this he ended his Life in the full Career of Fortune and Victory, which attended him to his Grave, through the long Courſe of more than threeſcore Years Reign. For he began that in *Normandy* about ten Years old, and continued it above forty Years before his *Engliſh* Expedition, after which he reigned above twenty Years in *England*, and died in or about the ſeventy ſecond Year of his Age, and the Year of our Lord, 1087.

Several Writers ſhow their ill Talent to this Prince, in making particular Remarks, how his Corps was immediately forſaken by all his Friends and Followers, as ſoon as he expired; how the Monks of an Abbey he had founded, were thereby induced to come of Charity, and

take the Care of his Body and his Burial, which he had ordered to be at *Caen* in *Normandy*, and in a Church he had there built. How the Ground that was opened to receive him was claimed at that inſtant, by a Knight of the Country, who alledged it had belonged to his Anceſtors and himſelf, and was violently or unjuſtly ſeized from them by the King, ſo that his Funeral was fain to be deferred till an Agreement was made, and the Value of the Ground paid to the Claimer; with other individious Circumſtances, which may argue the Ingratitude, Avarice, or other Vices of his Servants or Subjects then living, but not defame the Memory, or obſcure the Glory of the Dead.

This ended all that was Mortal of this noble King, and this renowned Conqueror; for his Fame will

will never die, but remain for ever in the moſt laſting Records of Time, and Monuments of Glory, among the Princes moſt celebrated for their brave Atchievements in War, their wiſe Inſtitutions in Peace, the Length and Proſperity of their Lives and their Reigns. In all which, he muſt with Juſtice be confeſſed not to have been equalled by many, if, indeed, by any we read of in Story.

I have made no mention of any great Councils, or Aſſemblies held in this King's Reign, becauſe I find no clear Evidence of the Nature or Conſtitution, the Times or the Occaſions of them, whether like thoſe uſed in the *Saxon* Reigns, or like the Parliaments in *Normandy*, or whether that Style was introduced here, in this King's Time, or that of his Sons, who ſucceeded him,

him. It appears, that he often assembled the Nobles and Barons of the Realm, but whether upon the Solemnity of some great Festivals, or of some Occasions of more Importance, either for the Honour of his Court, or Consultation of his Affairs, I find not so well recorded, nor so easie to determine as some will have it. It is agreed only, that there were two general Assemblies of the Clergy; one about the sixth Year of his Reign, upon a Controversie between the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, about the Primacy, which was therein determined in favour of the first: The other about erecting some new Bishopricks, or translating their Sees from some decayed and smaller Towns, to others grown in that Age more populous and opulent. The *Lichfield* Chronicle

nicle alſo relates how in the fourth Year of his Reign he ſummoned out of every County, the Nobles, the Wiſe Men, and ſuch as were learned in their own Law; that he might from them learn what were their ancient Laws and Cuſtoms. After which the Laws of St. *Edward* were conſerved, and by him confirmed throughout the whole Kingdom.

I have not been ſo particular as other Writers, in the Names of Places, or of Perſons, or Diſtinction of Years; becauſe in ſuch Antiquity of Times and Variety of Authors, I find them very hard to be aſcertained. Beſides, the Diſagreement among Writers is ſo great, in aſſigning the Years to the ſeveral Actions of this Prince, that ſo important an Affair, as that of framing the Dooms-day-Book, is by

ſome

ſome referred to the Eighth, by others to the Thirteenth, and by ſome to the Nineteenth Year of his Reign: And many others are left in the ſame Uncertainty.

I have likewiſe omitted the Accounts and Remarks, wherein ſome Writers have buſied their Pens, of ſtrange Comets, Inclemencies of Seaſons, raging Diſeaſes, or deplorable Fires, that are ſaid to have happened in this Age and Kingdom; and are repreſented by ſome as Judgments of God upon this King's Reign: Becauſe I rather eſteem them Accidents of Time or Chance, ſuch as happen in one Part or other of the World, perhaps every Age, at ſome Periods of Time, or from ſome Influence of Stars, or by the Conſpiring of ſome natural or caſual Circumſtances; and neither argue the Ver-

tues

tues or Vices of Princes, nor ſerve for Example, or Inſtruction to Poſterity, which are the great Ends of Hiſtory, and ought to be the chief Care of all Hiſtorians.

For this Reaſon, as well as to comply with common Cuſtom, it may not be improper or unneceſſary to end the wiſe, politick, and proſperous Reign, with the juſt Character of this renowned Prince. Since all great Actions in the World, and Revolutions of States may be truly derived, from the Genius of the Perſons, that conduct and govern them; ſo as by comparing both together, and obſerving the Cauſes as well as Events, it may be eaſie to diſcern, by what Perſonal Qualities and Diſpoſitions of Princes, the happy and glorious Succeſſes of their own Fortunes, with the Greatneſs and Felicity of their

their States, are generally atchieved; for, to attribute ſuch great Events to Time, or to Chance, were to deſtroy the Examples, and confound the Conſequences of all Vertues and Vices among Men.

*William*, ſurnamed the Conqueror, was of the talleſt Stature among thoſe common in his Age and Country; his Size large, and his Body ſtrong built, but well proportioned: His Strength ſuch, as few of his Court could draw his Bow: His Health was great and conſtant, which made him very active in his Buſineſs, and his Pleaſures, till about the Decline of his Age he grew ſomething corpulent. From all which, I ſuppoſe, came the Story in ſome *Norman* Writers, that he was Eight Foot high, or the Size of *Hercules*.

As

As he was of goodly Perſonage, ſo his Face was lovely, but of a Maſculine Beauty, the Lines being ſtrong rather than delicate; his Eyes were quick and lively, but when moved ſomething fierce; his Complection Sanguine, his Countenance very pleaſant, when he was gay and familiar; when he was ſerious, ſomething ſevere.

His Paſtimes were chiefly Hunting and Feaſting; in the firſt he ſpent much Time, uſed great Exerciſe, and yet much Moderation of Dyet. In his Feaſts, which were deſigned for Magnificence or Converſation, to know or to be known among his Nobles, and not for Luxury; he was courteous, affable, familiar, and often pleaſant, and which made him the more ſo to his Company, was eaſie at thoſe Times in granting Suits and Pardons.

It

It is by all agreed, that he was Chaſte and Temperate, which, with a happy Conſtitution, and much Exerciſe, preſerved not only his Health but Vigour, to the laſt Decline of his Age.

He was of ſound natural Senſe, and ſhewed it not only in his own Conduct and Reaſoning upon all great Occaſions, but alſo in the Choice of his Miniſters and Friends, where no Prince was happier or wiſer than he.

He talked little, never vaunted, obſerved much, was very ſecret, and uſed only *Lanfranc*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with an univerſal Confidence, both as a Councellor and a Friend; to whom he was ever meek and gentle, though to others ſomething auſtere, as if this Conqueror had been himſelf ſubdued by the Wiſdom and Vertue of that excellent Man.

In his Purpoſes he was ſteddy but not obſtinate, and though conſtant to his Ends, yet appliable to Occaſions, as appeared by his favouring and truſting the *Normans* in his Troubles of *England*, and the *Engliſh* in thoſe of *Normandy*; and was either very wiſe or very happy in the Arts of gaining Enemies, and retaining Friends, having never loſt but one, which was *Fitz-Auber*.

He was a Prince deep in his Deſigns, bold in his Enterprizes, firm in his Proſecution, excelling in the Order and Diſcipline of his Armies, and Choice in his Officers both of his Army and his State: But admirable in Expedition and Diſpatch of Civil as well as Military Affairs, never deferring till to Morrow, what ſhould be done to Day.

Above all, he was careful and prudent in the Management of his Treasure, and finding a Temper between the Bounty of his own Nature, and the Necessity of his Affairs, proportioning always the Expences of his Gifts, his Buildings, his Enterprizes, to the Treasure he was Master of, for defraying them, designing nothing out of his Compass, and thereby compassing all he seemed to design.

He was Religious, in frequenting Divine Service, giving much Alms, building Abbies, and endowing them, sending Presents of Crosses of Gold, rich Vestures and Plate to many other Churches, and much Treasure to *Rome*.

He was a great Lover of Learning, and though he despised the loose, ignorant *Saxon* Clergy he found in *England*, yet he took Care

Care and Pleaſure to fill Eccleſiaſtical Dignities here with Perſons of great Worth and Learning from Abroad, as *Lanfranc*, *Durand*, *Anſelm*, with many more.

He was a Lover of Vertue in others, and a Hater of Vice, for being naturally very kind to his Half Brother *Odon*, Biſhop of *Bayeux*, having made him Earl of *Kent*, given him great Revenues, entruſted him in his Abſence with the Government of the Realm; yet finding him a Man of incurable Ambition, Avarice, Cruelty, Oppreſſion, and Prophaneneſs, he at length wholly diſgraced him, and kept him in Priſon, during all the reſt of his Reign; which ſeems to have been a juſt Puniſhment of his Crimes, and Sacrifice to the *Engliſh*, he had cruelly oppreſſed in the King's Abſence, rather than a

Greedineſs of his Treaſures, as ſome envious Writers would make it appear.

Yet by the Conſent of them all, and the moſt partial or malicious to his Memory, as well as others; He is agreed to have been a Prince of great Strength, Wiſdom, Courage, Clemency, Magnificence, Wit, Courteſie, Charity, Temperance, and Piety. This ſhort Character, and by all agreed, is enough to vindicate the Memory of this noble Prince, and famous Conqueror, from the Aſperſions or Detractions of ſeveral malicious or partial Authors, who have more unfaithfully repreſented his Reign, than any other Period of our *Engliſh* Hiſtory.

Having taken a full View of this King in his Actions, and his Perſon, it remains only that we con-

conſider the Conſequences that both of them had, upon the Condition of this Kingdom, which will be beſt diſcovered by the Survey of what it loſt, what it preſerved, and what it gained by this famous Conqueſt.

*England* thereby muſt be confeſſed to have loſt; firſt, very great Numbers of brave *Engliſh* Men, who fell in the Battle of *Haſtings*, and in two Wars afterwards by the Revolt of the Nobles, and Invaſion of the *Scots* in Favour of *Edgar Atheling*. Likewiſe many Nobles and Gentlemen, who diſdaining all Subjection to a Foreign and Conquering Power, retired into *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Denmark*, and after the Extinction of their Hopes, by the Suppreſſion of all Endeavours in Favour of *Edgar*'s Right, never returned, but left their Families

habituated in those Countries, choosing, if they must live under a Foreign Dominion, to do it rather Abroad than at Home.

In the next Place, *England* lost the true Line of their ancient *Saxon* Kings, who were a Race of just, good, and pious Princes, governed by such known Laws, and with such Moderation, and were so beloved of their People, as makes it observed by Writers, that no popular Insurrection ever happened in any of the *Saxon* Reigns.

Lastly, *England* by the Conquest lost in a great Measure, the old Plainness and Simplicity of the *Saxon* Times, and Customs of Life, who were generally a People of good Meaning, plain Dealing, contented with their own, little coveting or imitating their Neighbours, and living frugally upon the Pro-

Product of their own fruitful Soil: For the Profuſion of Meats at our *Engliſh* Tables, came in with the *Danes*, and the Luxury of them was introduced firſt by the *Normans*, and after encreaſed by the more frequent Uſe of Wines, upon the Acceſſion of *Guienne* to this Crown.

What we preſerved, is remarkable in Three Particulars, not uſual upon great Conqueſts; For, Firſt, we preſerved our Name, which was loſt by the *Saxon* Invaſions, but that of *England* then (ſucceeding the other of *Britain*) has ever ſince continued.

Next; we preſerved our Language, or the Old *Engliſh* Tongue, which has made the Body and Subſtance of what ſtill remains, though much enlarged and poliſhed, ſince thoſe Times, by the

tranſplanting many Words out of Foreign Languages, eſpecially *Latin* and *French*.

In the laſt Place, we preſerved our Forms of Government, our Laws and Inſtitutions, which have been ſo much celebrated by ancient Writers, and have been ſo obſtinately defended by our Anceſtors; and are by Chancellor *Forteſcue*, who writ in the Time of *Henry* the Sixth, averred to have been preſerved thro' the Five ſeveral Governments in this Iſland; of *Normans*, *Danes*, *Saxons*, *Romans*, and *Britains*, and ſo to have continued for a longer Courſe of Time, than thoſe of *Rome* or *Venice*, or any other Nation known in Story. But this I doubt is not ſo eaſily proved as affirmed, though it may be with more Certainty of the three firſt, which is ſufficient to illu-

illuſtrate the Antiquity of our Conſtitutions, without Recourſe to ſtrained or uncertain Allegations.

For what we gained by our Loſs in this Conqueſt, though it ſeems a Contradiction, yet it may be obſerved in many more Particulars than the other two.

Firſt, *England* grew much greater both in Dominion and Power Abroad, and alſo in Dignity and State at Home, by the Acceſſion of ſo much Territory upon the Continent. For, though the *Normans* by the Conqueſt gained much of the *Engliſh* Lands and Riches, yet *England* gained *Normandy*, which by it became a Province to this Crown.

Next, it gained greater Strength by the great Numbers of *Normans* and *French*, that came over with the

the Conqueror, and after his Eſtabliſhment here; and incorporated with the *Engliſh* Nation, joyning with them in the ſame Language, Laws, and Intereſts.

Then we gained much by the great Encreaſe of our Naval Power, and Multitude of Ships, wherein *Normandy* then abounded, by the Advantage of more and better Havens, than in latter Ages. This, with the perpetual Intercourſe between *England* and *Normandy*, and other Parts of the Continent, gave us a mighty Encreaſe of Trade and Commerce, and thereby of Treaſure to the Crown and Kingdom, which appeared firſt in ſo great a Maſs, as was left by the Conqueror to Prince *Henry*, his younger Son.

*England*, by the Conqueſt, gained likewiſe a natural Right to the

the Dominion of the narrow Seas, which had been before acquired only by the great Naval Power of *Edgar*, and other *Saxon* Kings. But the Dominion of narrow Seas, ſeems naturally to belong, like that of Rivers, to thoſe who poſſeſs the Banks, or Coaſts on both ſides: And ſo to have ſtrengthened the former Title, by ſo long a Coaſt, as that of *Normandy* of one ſide, and of *England* on the other ſide of the Channel.

Beſides, by this Conqueſt we gained more Learning, more Civility, more Refinement of Language, Cuſtoms, and Manners, from the great Reſort of other Strangers, as well as Mixture of *French* and *Normans*.

And Laſtly, we gained all our Conſideration Abroad, by carrying

our

our Arms ſo often and ſo glorioufly, as well as extending our Dominions into Foreign Countries; ſo that whereas our *Saxon* Kings were little known abroad, further than by the Fame of their Devotion and Piety, or their Journeys, Gifts, and Oblations, made to *Rome*. After the Conqueſt, the Crown of *England* grew firſt to be feared by our Neighbours, to have conſtant Intercourſe with other Foreign Princes, to take Part and be conſidered, in all the Affairs of *Chriſtendom*, and by the following Acceſſions of *Anjou* and *Guien*, came in a ſhort Time to be eſteemed without Controverſie, while they poſſeſſed thoſe Dominions, the greateſt Power of any Kingdom then in *Chriſtendom*, as appears by ſo many glorious Adventures, and

Suc-

Succeſſes of their Arms in *France*, *Spain*, *Brittany*, *Flanders*, *Sicily*, and the *Holy Land*.

From all theſe happy Circumſtances of this famous Conqueſt, all the ſucceeding Kings of *England* ſeem juſtly to have done this Conqueror the Honour of dating from him, the firſt great Period of their Reigns, by which thoſe of the *Saxons*, and other preceding Dominions or Governments here, are left us in Story; but like ſo many antique, broken, or defaced Pictures, which may ſtill repreſent ſomething of the Cuſtoms and Faſhions of thoſe Ages, though little of the true Lines, Proportions, or Reſemblance. But all that has ſucceeded, ſince this King's Reign, though not drawn by any one skilful Hand, or by the

the Life, yet is repreſented in ſo clear a Light, as leaves very little, either obſcure or uncertain, in the Hiſtory of our Kingdom, or the Succeſſion of our Kings.

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